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EDITORIAL

The present volume is the arrear volume for 1977-78, covering eight parts in all, which were to have been issued progressively in January, April, July and October of 1977 and 1978. It is hoped that the next volume (Vol. XLIII), covering the period 1979-80, will be brought out in the near future.

I record here my grateful thanks to my colleague Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and my erstwhile colleague Dr. S.S. Ramachandramurthy, formerly Deputy Superintending Epigraphist and now Professor of Indian Culture, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, who have been of immense help to me in compiling the present volume and finalising it for the press. Besides, Dr. M.D. Sampath and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, have helped me in proof correction and have also prepared the entire illustration material. Sri P. Natarajan, Stenographer, got the typescript ready for the press. To these gentlemen in particular and to those who have enriched this volume, through their leading contributions, I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am beholden to Shri J. C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, who has master-minded the scheme for clearing the arrears of epigraphical publications in reasonable time and rendered immense help in the speedy publication of this volume.

Mysore
5 . 3 . 92

K.V. RAMESH
Director (Epigraphy)

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No. 1—A NEW GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA I, ŚAKA 591, YEAR 15

(*1 Plate*)

K.V. Ramesh, Mysore

This new charter, edited here for the first time, was secured by Dr. S.H. Ritti, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwar. Prof. Ritti was good enough to send the set to the office of the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore for examination and copying. I am thankful to Prof. Ritti for permitting me to edit the charter in the pages of this journal.

The set consists of three copper-plates out of which the first and the third bear writing only on the inner sides while the middle plate bears writing on both sides. Each plate measures 21.5 × 9 cms. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. There is, in the left centre of each plate, a ring hole, 1.4 cm in diametre with a circular ring passing through it. The ring, 1 cm thick, is 7 cms in diametre. The ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal, 3 cms in diametre, and it bears a crude figure of a boar in relief, on its countersunk surface. The whole set, with the ring uncut, weighs 1080 gms. There are, in all, 33 lines of writing, distributed as follows : first plate : 8 lines, second plate, first side: 9 lines ; second plate, second side : 8 lines; and third plate : 8 lines.

The **characters** belong to the old Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet and closely resemble those of the published records of the issuer of the charter, viz., Chalukya Vikramāditya I (654/55-681 A.D.) of Vātāpi. As regards **palaeography**, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between *ch* and *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the invocatory verse (lines 1-2), three imprecatory verses (lines 29-33) and one verse in praise of the reigning emperor (lines 18-19), the entire text is in prose. As regards **orthography** and style, though the inscription closely resembles most other charters of Vikramāditya I, attention may be drawn here to the not usual doubling of *k* in *parakkram-ā* (line 7) and *Vikkramādityaḥ* (line 19). The grant was issued at the time (i.e., on the day) of the equinox which was the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the Śaka year 591, which fell in the 15th year of Vikramāditya I's reign. Since the grant was issued on the day of the autumnal equinox, the details of date may be taken to correspond to the 22nd or the 23rd of September, 669 A.D.

The record begins with the well-known stanza *Jayaty-āvishkṛitaṁ*, etc. The dynastic eulogy pertaining to the careers of the reigning king's great-grandfather, Pulakēśi I, grandfather, Kīrttivarman I and father Pulakēśi II, is in conformity with the stereotyped Chalukya *praśasti*. The eulogy of Vikramāditya I as given in our charter also does not reveal anything new, but provides an opportunity to reconsider and reinterpret the statement concerning the restoration by that ruler of the misappropriated land grants earlier enjoyed by the temples (*dēvasva*) and *brāhmanas* (*brahmasva*). Scholars have till now taken the

passage in question (lines 15-17) to mean that Vikramāditya I had 'restored the properties belonging to gods and *brāhmaṇas* in the kingdoms of the said three kings who had confiscated them, the said three kings being obviously the kings of the Tamil country.'[1] But the real purport of the passage in lines 15-17, starting with *sva-gurōḥ* and ending with *sthāpitavān* is to be differently understood in the light of the known facts of history. The expression *avanipati- tritaya* actually connotes here the Pallava adversary, the natural foe (*prakṛity-amitra*) of the Chalukyas, who symbolised in himself the Pallava hegemony over the three traditional kingdoms of the Tamil country *viz.*, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra. Thus the entire passage *avanipati-tritayāntaritam sva-gurōḥ śriyam-ātmasātkṛitya* should be taken to mean 'he recovered for himself his father's royal fortune which had been eclipsed by the ruler who combined in himself the power of the three traditional royal houses (of the Tamil country)'. As a result Vikramaditya became the master of the entire kingdom (*aśesha-rājya*) which was under his father's sway. By *tasmin rājya-trayē* is obviously meant this very same kingdom for, not having occupied the Pallava country for any length of time, he could not have ordered and effectively implemented the restoration of misappropriated land grants in that alien territory. As to what was actually meant by the expression *rājya-traya*, a valid clue is provided by the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśi II in which his empire is referred to as *Mahārāshṭraka-traya.*[2] It is very likely that Pulakēśi II's imperial possessions were conventionally, if not for administrative purposes, divided into three *rashṭrakas* (or *rājyas*), viz., Karnāṭaka, his possessions in Āndhra and the Koṅkaṇa-Mahārāshṭra-Gujarat portions which he brought under his sway. When Pulakēśi II fell, probably as a result of Pallava Narasimhavarman's successful retaliatory campaign, a period of confusion ensued for more than a decade during which the Chalukyas must necessarily have lost effective control over much of their territory in all of which opportunists may have misappropriated land grants made earlier to temples and *brāhmanas*. After driving the Pallava invaders back to where they came from, it was but natural that Vikramaditya tried hard to reestablish Chalukya hegemony over all his father's erstwhile possessions. He eminently succeeded in his efforts and, as a natural corollory to his success, he restored all the earlier land grants to the original divine and *brāhmana* recipients in all the three segments (*rāshṭrakas* or *rājyas)* of the Chalukya empire.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the gleaning rights (*uñchha-vṛitti*) of the village of Bhramaradāḷa, along with the gleaning rights of (the village of) Avuganūru, situated in Kūhunḍi-vishaya, to the *brāhmana* Kumārasvāmi, the son of Dēvasvāmi-dīkshita and grandson of Mēghasvāmi, who belonged to the Kāśyapa-sagōtra and was learned in the four sciences (*śāstras*). The grant was made on the date specified (and discussed above) on the orders (*ājñayā*) of the illustrious Nāgavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka.

The expression used in our record for denoting the two 'gleaning rights' is *māṛuñchha.* The word *uñchha* means 'gleaning', 'gathering grains' and *uñchha-vṛitti* stands for 'the

1 See, eg., above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 176-77. The untenable and unhistorical nature of this interpretation is fully brought home by the doubt entertained by these scholars as to which of the four known kings of the Tamil country, viz., Pallava, Chōḷa, Pāndya, and Kerala is omitted by the expression *avanipati-tritaya.*

2 Above, Vol. VI, p. 6, text line 12.

privilege of living by gathering, without the need to pay, ears of corn left by reapers'. In *māṛuñchha*, *māṛ* or *māṛu* is a Dravidian word which has many shades of meaning. But the one which suits our context most is the sense 'to sell', 'to barter' or 'to exchange'.[1] Normally the objects granted to deserving donees in bygone days were not transferable or negotiable unless otherwise specified. In the present instance, the donee Kumarasvāmi was obviously vested with the right to sell or barter away the grains collected by him free of cost. We may, therefore, conclude that the donee of our record received as grant 'saleable gleanings' from the villages of Bhramaradāḷa and Avuganuru.

The present charter is important for the dynastic history of the Vātāpi Chalukyas. As has been pointed out above, the grant registered herein was made on the orders (*ajña*) of sri-Nāgavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka. Sanskrit diction being what it is, this expression may be interpreted either as 'the illustrious Nāgavardhana[-bhaṭṭāraka] and Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka' or as 'the illustrious Nāgavardhana *alias* Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka' or, assuming that Nāgavardhana is a place-name, as 'the illustrious Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭāraka of Nāgavardhana'. Of these the first possibility is, for the present, ruled out because we do not know of any prince of the royal blood who was at once of the Chalukya stock and bore the name of Nagavardhana and was senior enough to receive mention ahead of Chandrāditya in an official Chalukya document. The third possibility need not engage our attention seriously until and unless a place bearing the name of Nāgavardhana enjoying a position of importance during the Vatāpi Chalukya period comes to our notice. We are thus left with the second alternative according to which Nagavardhana was another name by which Chandrāditya was known. This possibility deserves to be examined in detail.

We know from the Nērūr grant[2] of the time of Vikramāditya I, issued in the year 659 A.D., that he had an elder brother (*jyeshṭha-bhrātṛi*) who bore the name of Chandrāditya as well as the feudatory title of *mahārāja*. The present charter, issued in 669 A.D., provides us with the latest as yet known date for Chandrāditya and shows that he was alive atleast during the first fifteen years of his younger brother's reign. The conclusion is inevitable that, in the extremely demanding situation which arose in the Chalukya empire as a sequel to the fall of Pulakēśi II, his elder son Chandrāditya was found wanting, either because he was temperamentally peace-loving or because he was of indifferent health or otherwise physically handicapped, and that the mantle of leadership in the war against the occupation forces of the Pallavas, and the crown of the empire at the moment of the restoration of Chalukya hegemony, both went to his younger brother Vikramāditya I. As a matter of fact, Chandrāditya was disqualified and Vikramāditya nominated as his prospective successor by Pulakēśi II himself as is clearly borne out by a recently discovered, damaged stone inscription[3] from Aihoḷe, of the time of Pulakēśi II, which refers to Vikramāditya I as crown-

1 Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, text lines 13-14

3 This inscription, in characters similar to those of the well known Aihole *praśasti* of Pulakēśi II, was originally engraved on a slab which was subsequently cut in order to make a stone lintel out of it. As a result, the inscription is only partly preserved. The loose slab is now kept in a corner in the Chakraguḍi at Aihole.

prince and also lays stress on his martial prowess and initiative (*śrī-Vikrama-yuvarājaḥ yuddh-ōtsāhī raṇa-dōhadaḥ*). Inspite of his supersession Chandrāditya appears to have entertained no grouse and Vikramāditya was statesman enough to accord his elder brother all royal courtesies due to an elder, though superseded, prince. This is further illustrated by the word *ājñaya* in relation to Chandrāditya's initiative in making the grant registered in the charter under study in place of the expression *vijñāpanaya* normally used in the case of subordinate rulers and officials.

Let us now examine the possibility of Chandrāditya having had the alternative name of Nāgavardhana. An almost unassailable confirmation of this possibility is to be found in the Navsāri grant[1] of Śrayāśraya Śilāditya-yuvarāja wherein Vikramāditya I is introduced as *paramamāhēśvara[ḥ*] mātāpitṛi-śrī-Nāgavardhana-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī-Vikramāditya*. That, immediately after the mention of his parents, the next person who is mentioned as revered by Vikramāditya I is Nāgavardhana, is clearly indicative of the fact that Nāgavardhana was junior to Vikramāditya's parents but was senior to him to merit his obeisance. When this statement is studied in the light of the information provided by our charter, it may be safely concluded that Nāgavardhana was the same as Chandrāditya and that he was held in high regard by his younger brother, Vikramāditya I.

Only two **geographical** names, Bhramaradaḷa and Avuganūru occur in the text.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇava[ṁ](vam)[|*] dakshiṇ-onnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-

2 bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||1*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇaṁ

3 Hāriti=putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mātṛibhis=sapta-mātṛibhir=abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārttikēya-

4 parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāṇāṁ=bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-

5 samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-aśēsha-mahībhṛitāṁ

6 Chalukyānāṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇōr=aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-gātrasya

7 śrī-Pulakēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya prapautraḥ parākkram-ākrānta-Vanavāsy=ā-

8 di-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-kīrttēś=śrī-Kīrttivarmma-pṛithivīvalla-

Second Plate : First Side

9 bha-mahārājasya pautraḥ samara-saṁsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harsha-varddhana-

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1 *JBBRAS.*, Vol. XVI, p. 2, text line 7.

2 From inked estampages.

A NEW GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMĀDITYA I,
SAKA 591, YEAR 15

i

ii a

ii b

iii

K. V. Ramesh

10 parājay-opalabdha-Paramēśvar-āparanāmadhēyasya Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivī-

11 vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayaś=Chitrakaṇṭh-ākhya-pravara-

12 tura[ṁ]gamēṇ=aikēn=aiva pratīt-anēka-samaramukhēshu ripu-rudhira-jal-ā svādana-

13 rasanāyamāna-jvalad-amala-niśita-nistriṁśa-dhārayā dhṛita-dharaṇi-bhara-bhu-

14 jaga-bhōga-sadṛiśa-nija-bhuja-vijita-vijigīshur=ātma-kavach-āvama-

15 gn-ānēka-prahāraḥ sva-gurōś=śriyam=avanipati-tritay-āntaritām=ātmasātkṛi-

16 tya krit-aik-ādhishṭhit-aśesha-rājya-bharas=tasmin=rājya-trayē vinashṭha(shṭā)ni

17 dēvasva-brahmadēyāni sva-mukhēna sthāpitavān=api cha ||

Second Plate . Second Side

18 Raṇa-śirasi ripu-narendrān=diśi diśi jitvā sva-vaṁśajāṁ lakshmīm[|*] prāptaḥ= parame-

19 śvaratam=anivārita-Vikkramādityaḥ[||2*] Sa Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī prithivī-

20 vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=sarvvān=ājñāpayati[|*]Viditam=astu

21 vō='smābhir=eka-navaty=uttara-pañcha=śateshu Śaka-varshēshv-atītēshu prav-arddhamāna-

22 vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsare pañcha-daśē varttamānē Āśvayuja kṛishṇa-paksh-ā-

23 shṭamyaṁ vishuvat=kāle śrī-Nāgavarddhana-Chandrāditya-bhaṭṭārak-ājñaya Kaśyapa-sagōtrasya

24 chatuś=śāstra-vidō Mēghasvāminaḥ pautrāya Dēvasvāmi-dīkshitasya putrāya Kūmāra-

25 svāminē Kūhundi-vishayē Bhramaradaḷa-grāma-māruñchhaḥ Avuganūru-māṟuñchha-

Third Plate

26 sahito dattaḥ[*] tad-āgāmibhir-asmad-vaṁśyair-anyaiś=cha rājabhir=āyur-aiśvaryy-ādīnāṁ vi-

27 lasitam-achir-āṁśu-chañchalam-avagachchhadbhir-ā-chandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇṇava-sthiti-sama-

28 kālaṁ yaśaś=chichīshubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśēsham=paripālanīyam=uktañ=cha bhaga-

29 vatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsena || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ[|*]

30 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||3*] Sva[ṁ] dātuṁ sumaha-

31 ch=chhakya[ṁ] duḥkham=anyasya pālanaṁ(naṁ) [|*] dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v-ēti dānāch=chhrēyō='nupālanam [||*4]

32 Sva-dattaṁ=para-dattaṁ vā yo harēta vasundharāṁ (rāṁ) [|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyaṁ

33 jāyatē krimiri(miḥ) [||5*] Iti mahāsandhivigrahika-śrī-Jayasēnēna likhitam ||

No. 2—MĀLDĀ DISTRICT MUSEUM COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 7

(2 Plates)

K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The copper-plate charter edited below was discovered in the village of **Jagajjibanpur** in Habibpur police station in Sadar sub-division in Malda District in West Bengal while digging the foundations of a house in plot No. 639 on 13th March 1989. The plate was subsequently brought to the District Museum at Mālda where it is now preserved. It was copied by us during our official tour. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the District Museum at Mālda for permitting us to copy the charter.

It is a single copper-plate, rectangular in shape, measuring 38 cms. in length and 52.5 cms. in breadth. Like other known Pāla copper-plate charters,[1] at the top centre of the plate is welded the seal which is pointed at the top and bears at the centre a beaded circle, with raised rim, supported and surrounded by arabesque work. On the top centre of the circle is a conch (*śaṅkha*). Inside, the area of the circle is divided into two equal parts, the upper half bearing the Buddhist wheel of law (*dharma-chakra*) mounted on a pedestal and surmounted by an umbrella (*chhatra*) and flanked by a couchant gazelle on either side while the lower half contains the name of the Pāla king Śrī-Mahēndrapāladevaḥ in one single line, in embossed characters and supported by arabesque work. The seal measures 20 cms. in length and 22 cms. in breadth.

The present charter resembles in all respects other early Pāla copper-plate charters in respect of palaeography, language and orthography. The **characters** are akin to those found in the Khalimpur copper-plate charter of Dharmapāladēva[2] and they can be termed as proto-Bengali. The initial vowels *a, ā, i, u, au* and *e* as well as the final consonants *t, n* and *m* are used in the record. Separate signs have been employed to denote final *t, n* and *m* with the *virama* written beneath or over the sign or attached to the top of it. In the case of final *n*, in line 2, the *virāma* is attached to the top of the full form of *n*, whereas there are some instances where the full form of *n* with the *virāma* below is found (1.7) while in other cases the full form of *n* with the *virāma* on the left is also found (1.30). There are a few instances where the half form of *n* with the *virāma* on the left is found represented by an *ardhachandra* mark with a slightly curved vertical line or *virāma* below (ll. 5, 14, 16). The final form of *t* is

1. See Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāladeva, Above, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff ; Nalanda copper-plate of Devapāladeva, *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, pp. 310 ff ; Mungir plate of Dēvapāladēva, *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 30, ff; Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV , p. 30 ff ; Lucknow Museum copper-plate of Śūrapāla, *Ibid.* Vol., XV, pp. 4 ff.

2. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.

indicated by the form of *t* without the *virāma* below (ll.22, 26, 27, 28, etc.). The initial *ā* has a horizontal tick below the vertical of *a*. The initial *i* has the form of a curve above two dots. *U* extends its curve upwards. The form of *au* (l.28) is unique and interesting and bears similarity to the form of *j* with the added difference that on the left, a semiarch type curved line is attached below the serif. *Kh* has an outer triangle with its mouth open and joined to the vertical on the right by a bar. The form of *ē* is also interesting as the vertical on the right takes a turn to the left immediately on coming down and again turns back to the right and then further comes down and takes a turn to the left joining the vertical on the right. *Th* is of the bulged form with its loop turned inwards. *T* has its two arms rounded while *r* has a bent on the vertical with a middle bar on the left. *Ph* has its loop turned outwards while *ś* has its top rounded.

As in other Pāla-copper plate charters, *b* is invariably used for *v*. The scribe shows carelessness in writing, such as omission of letters as in *ayānanda*° for *atyananda*° in line 2, *trayīm=iv=ōha* for °*=trayīm=iv-ōdvāha* in lines 17-18 and wrong spellings such as *dharmma-stitēḥ* for *dharmma-sthitēḥ* in line 4, *jagat=pudavīn=didṛikshuś=*° for *jagat-padavīn=didṛikshuś=*° in line 11, *vilakañ=cha* for *tilakañ=cha* in lines 12-13, *khaḍg-āvarjjitai* for *khaḍg=āvarjjita* in lines 13-14 and *ārōhatādyam=bhṛishaṁ* for *ārohatadyam=bhṛiśaṁ* in line 16.

In respect of the observance of the rules of *sandhi*, *m* is generally retained as in *kakubhām=mukhāni* (l.7), *rājñāṁ sēvāparāṇam=praṇata*° (l.10) °*bhavanam=priya-vikramāyaḥ* (l.11), etc. Sometimes in *sandhi ṁ* is replaced by *n* as in *jagatpadavīn=didṛikshuḥ* in line l.11, *ēvan-niyamita* in line 35 and *dharmmānuśansana*° in line 50. Further, in *sandhi*, the consonant following *r* is in some cases reduplicated like in *dur-antarair=mmaulibhiḥ* in line 22, *sahasrair=mmukhais*° in line 55 and *vahnir=vvair=indhanānāṁ* in line 61.

The **language** employed is Sanskrit and the *praśasti* is composed partly in poetry and partly in prose. The poetic portion comprises as many as 32 verses. All the verses are new as in the case of the stanzas forming the introduction of the grants of Dharmapāla and Dēvapāla. The composer of this *praśasti* appears to be a poet of distinction and he uses a variety of figures of speech (*alaṅkāra*) such as *upamā*, *utprēksha*, *arthaślēsha*, *śabdaślesha*, etc., in his composition as, for instance, while describing the battles fought by Dēvapāla (vv.8 and 9), delineating the boundaries of his kingdom (v. 14) and eulogising his valour (vv. 15 and 16). He shows himself at his best while describing the victorious march of the army of Mahēndrapāla resulting in creating an illusion in the minds of the Vidyadharas flying in the sky (v. 13). In only one instance, one can find fault with him as for instance (v. 31) while describing the fame of Vajraṭa where he has not given the *upamāna* to the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had done in the case of virtuous people and the damsels of the directions.

The plate bears in all 73 lines of writing, the distribution of lines being 40 lines on the first side and 33 lines on the second. The charter begins with the symbol standing for the word *siddham* followed by the auspicious word *Svasti*. Then follows the invocation (verse No. 1) in praise of Siddhartha (i.e., the Buddha) who is described as seated on the exalted spiritual throne, whose teachings are obeyed by all, who reigns supreme over the earth (by his spiritual eminence), who is born in the lustrous race (solar race) and who is the torch-bearer of righteousness. The genealogy of the imperial Pāla family follows, couched in sixteen verses and spanning over as many as twenty-five lines. It begins with Gopāla who is described in verse 2. His son Dharmapāla is extolled in verses 3 to 5. In verse 4, he is stated to have defeated powerful kings like Indrarāja and the king of the Sindhu country (*Sindhūnām=adhipaṁ*). In verse 6, he is described as having begot through his queen Vikramā, a son called Devapala. In verse 7, Devapāla is said to have built two temples dedicated respectively to Sugata (i.e., the Buddha) and Gaurī. Verse 11 narrates that Devapala married Māhaṭā, who was the daughter of the Chāhamāna king Durlabha. From verse 12, it is known that Devapāla got through his queen Māhaṭā, a son named Mahēndrapāla, the reigning Pāla king who issued the present grant. Verses 13 to 16 describe Mahēndrapāla. The description of Mahēndrapāla given in these verses is more or less conventional and no new historical information is contained therein.

In the prose passage that follows, the reigning king is formally introduced and the object and purpose of the grant are given. Mahēndrapāla is given the titles *Paramasaugata, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭaraka* and *Mahārajādhiraja* and is described as the son of *Paramasaugata, Paramēśvara, . Maharajadhiraja* Devapaladēva. He is stated to have been camping in his victorious camp (*jayaskandhāvara*) at Auddālakhaṭaka at the time of the issue of the present grant. The charter proceeds to state that the king (Mahēndrapāladēva) constructed a monastery (*vihara*) in a town called Nandadirghikā situated in Kundalakhaṭaka-vishaya in Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti and, for the proper worship, anointment (*pūjana-lekha(pa)n-ādyarthe*), etc. for raiments, food, beds, seats, proper medication and meditation (*chivara-piṁḍapata-śayan-āsana-pratyaya-bhaishajya-parishkār-ādy-arthaṁ*) of the Lord Buddha, of Prajñāpāramitā and other goddesses, of the group of Bodhisattvas poised for enlightenment, of the individualistic eight *mahāpurushas* and the *bhikshu-saṁgha*, and for repairs to the *vihāra* referred to above, gave away the entire town of Nandadirghikā along with all lands and income. The whole land was divided and the monks and others were allotted their respective shares of land as decreed by him. The grant was made by the king for the increase in merit of self, parents and all living beings (*mātapitror-ātmanaḥ sakalasya cha satva-rāśēḥ puṇy-ābhivriddhaye*).

The royal order was conveyed to all those assembled (*samupagatān-sarvvān*) as well as to officials (list enumerated) by the royal messenger (*dūtaka*) *Mahāsēnāpati*

Vajradeva. Then follows the valedictory sentence calling upon all future kings to perpetuate the grant. The date of the grant is given as year 7, evidently the regnal year of Mahendrapaladeva, on the second day in the lunar month of Vaiśakha. Verses 15-18 are imprecatory in nature. Verse 19 says that while this pious act (*sukritakarma*) was being performed by the 'star in battles' (*saṁgrama-tarena*) (obviously this appellation refers to king Mahendrapaladeva), the royal messenger (*dutaka*) was Śurapala whose relationship with the sovereign was the same which had existed between the epic heroes Lakshmaṇa and Śri Rama.

The next twelve verses (vv. 20-31) contain the genealogy of the family of Vajradeva and the description of his character and exploits. Verse 20 refers to one Devaradeva, the progenitor of the family to whichVajradeva belonged. He possessed sterling qualities of virtue and goodness. Verse 21 is also in his praise. Verse 22 reveals that Devaradeva had a son by name Narayaṇadeva. Verses 23-25 describe his nature. It is known from verse 25 that king Dharmapaladeva, impressed by his prowess and qualities of truthfulness and fidelity, appointed him (Narayaṇadeva) as the chief (*adhipati*) of Darddaraṇya. Verses 26-27 extol Kalyaṇavati, the wife of Narayanadeva. Verse 28 states that Narayanadeva begot in her a son by name Vajradeva. Verses 29-31 describe his manifold qualities.

Verse 32 is a benediction praying for the permanence of the eulogy (*kirtti*). The charter ends with the concluding sentence that it was engraved (*utkirna*) by *samanta* Mahaḍa.

The significance of the present charter lies in the facts that some hitherto unknown historical information is revealed about Dharmapaladeva and Devapaladeva, the predecessors of Mahendrapaladeva and that this charter attests for the first time, and beyond any shadow of doubt, to the reign of a Pala king named Mahendrapaladeva immediately after the end of Devapala's reign. The contemporary political history of North India during the time of Dharmmapaladeva speaks of an intense political struggle between the Pala king on the one side and the Imperial Pratiharas and Rashtrakuṭas of Malkheḍ on the other, over the political hegemony of Uttarapatha. The contemporary kings of Dharmapala on the Imperial Pratihara throne were Vatsaraja and his son and successor Nagabhata (II) while Dhruva and Govinda (III) were the contemporary kings on the Rashṭrakuṭa throne. It is known that Dharmapala was very ambitious in raising the Pala kingdom to the high water mark of glory and power and in extending and establishing his suzerainty over North India. The Rashṭrakuṭa records speak of Vatsaraja having defeated a Pala king, evidently Dharmapala, and carried away his royal insignia. Vatsaraja was aided in his expedition by his feudatory chiefs, one of whom, Chahamana Durlabharaja of Śakambhari is said to have overrun the whole of Bengal upto the confluence of the Gaṅga and the sea. But, as this occurs in a poetical work composed four centuries after the event described, it is difficult to take

it as literally true.[1] As the kingdom of Gauḍa at that time extended upto the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab, it cannot be said definitely whether Vatsarāja actually invaded Bengal or met and defeated the lord of Gauḍa somewhere in the Doab. A recently discovered dated inscription of Dharmapala at Nālandā[2] shows that parts of Bihar including Nālandā continued to be under the sway of the Pāla king in 774 A.D. The event of his encountef with Vatsaraja may probably have occurred only after 774 A.D., as Vatsarāja ascended the throne in or before A.D 778. But Dharmapāla did not lose heart after his defeat at the hands of Vatsarāja.

The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapaladeva dated 802 A.D.,[3] describes a *durbar* the Pāla king held at Kanauj.[4] According to the present charter and the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla,[5] Dharmapala defeated Indraraja and others (*Indrarāj-ādikān*) and gave back again the sovereignty of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) to the begging Chakrāyudha (*Chakrāyudhāy-arthine*). The conquest of the prized and coveted city of Kanauj must probably have been the first major victory Dharmapāla scored in his efforts to bring the entire North India under his sway. The *durbar* which Dharmapala held at Kanauj was attended, according to the Khalimpur plate, by a number of vassal chiefs among whom are mentioned the rulers of Bhōja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kīra who uttered acclamations of approval 'bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling.'[6] As can be seen below, Dharmapāla went beyond Kanauj and the domain of the Imperial Pratīhāras on his military expedition.

The charter under review mentions the defeat of the king of the Sindhu country (*Sindhūnāṁ-adhipaṁ*) in the hands of Dharmapaladēva. In a fragmentary inscription from Huṇḍ[7], there is a reference to a military expedition to Sindhurājya undertaken by Anantadeva-nṛipati and Sindhurājya had been identified with the region comprising parts of Sind and Multan. The history of the north-western region of India during this period speaks of the early Muslim invaders of the "seventh and the following centuries, of Arab and Turkish extraction, finding the then Hindu rulers to be more than their match on the battle-field. The Hindu rulers like the Imperial Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa (II) and his successors as well as Avanijanāśraja Pulakeśin of the Chalukya house of Navasārika and Lalitāditya, the ruler of Kashmir were among the Hindu rulers who claim to have successfully withstood and repulsed Muslim invasions."[8] If one is to go by the statement contained in the present charter, it is tempting to postulate

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. I, pp. 22-23.

2 *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, No. B. 41; The combined assault of the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja (783-92 A.D.) and the Chāhamāna king Durlabharāja on the Pāla kingdom should have taken place sometime before 791 A.D., for there is an inscription of Dharmapāladeva, year 21 at Bodhgayā (Bhandarkar's List No. 1609).

3 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff.

4 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 46.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 305, v. 3.

6 Above, Vol. IV, pp. 248, No. 12; *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. III, p. 46.

7 Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 94 ff.

8 Above, p. 96.

that Dharmapala would have gone to the region around Sind and Multan in the course of his military campaign and conquered the king of that country. What emerges ultimately from the account given above is that the power of the Imperial Pratiharas was at its lowest ebb at the time of Dharmapala's conquest of North India though it must be noted that none of the contemporary kings of that dynasty is mentioned as having been defeated by the Pala king in any of his records including the charter under consideration.

According to Pratihara records, the Imperial Pratihara king Nagabhaṭa (II) retaliated against his Pala adversary by defeating Chakrayudha and conquering Kanyakubja. The recently edited Badhal copper-plate charter of Nagabhaṭa (II) reveals the fact that Nagabhata (II) was not in occupation of Kanyakubja in 815 A.D.[1] It is therefore possible to postulate that the Imperial Pratihara king Nagabhaṭa II's occupation of Kanyakubja must have taken place only after 815 A.D.[2]

As already mentioned above, Durlabharaja (I), according to conjectures based on a verse in a later work called *Prithvirajavijaya*, fought on the side of the Imperial Pratihara king Vatsaraja against a Pala king, evidently Dharmapaladeva, overrunning the whole of Bengal and washing his sword at the confluence of the sea (Bay of Bengal) and the river Ganga.[3] In the family of the Chahamanas of Sapadalaksha or Jangaladesa or Śakambhari, one king, Durlabharaja (I), the son of Gopendraka, is known to have flourished in the 8th century A.D.[4] It is already known from the Lucknow Museum plate of Śurapala (I)[5] that Devapala had married Mahaṭa, the daughter of one Durlabharaja. But the charter is, however, silent regarding the lineage of Durlabharaja.[6] The present charter discloses the fact that Durlabharaja belonged to the Chahamana family and was on friendly terms with the Pala king Dharmapaladeva. This, however, runs counter to the statement recorded in *Prithvirajavijaya*. How to reconcile these two conflicting statements? It is possible to conjecture that there were many encounters between the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj and Dharmapala and that, in the earlier battle fought between Vatsaraja and Dharmapaladeva, the Chahamana king would have sided with the Pratiharas who, it may be noted, were their traditional

1 The article is under publication. See also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 25.

2 Based on a statement in *Prabhāvakacharita* that king Nāgāvalōka of Kānyakubja, the grandfather of Bhōja died in V.S. 890, Majumdar, after identifying Nāgāvalōka with Nāgabhaṭa II, surmised that if Nāgabhaṭa really transferred his capital to Kanauj it was very likely towards the close of his reign after Dharmapāla had died and his son and successor Dēvapāla had enjoyed the position of supreme ruler of Northern India for a fairly long period as is claimed in his records. *History of Bengal*, ch. VI, p. 112, f.n. 3 ; See also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 27.

3 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 23; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 844 ff.

4 *Early Chauhan Dynasties* by Dasaratha Sharma, ch. III, p. 24.

5 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 4 ff.

6 The Lucknow Museum charter of Śūrapāla (I) merely states that Dēvapāla's queen was Māhaṭā who was the daughter of a king named Durlabharāja (*Śrīmad-Durlabharāja-tanayā Śrī-Māhaṭ-ākhy=ābhavad=dēvī tasya kara-graha-praṇayinī ślāghyā dvitīy-ēva bhūḥ* II (*Ibid.* p. 12, v. 14)

overlords. In the second battle that took place when the Pāla king marched across Uttarāpatha after the successful conquest of Kānyakūbja, the Chāhamāna king (Durlabharāja I) would have either submitted to or befriended the former by giving away his daughter Māhaṭā to the former's son Dēvapāladēva. One has, therefore, to suppose that there were more than one encounter between the Pāla king Dharmapāladeva and Durlabharāja (I). However, that this newly established friendship between the Pālas and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī did not last long is proved by the fact that Guvaka I, the son of Durlabharaja (I), was an ally of the Imperial Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa (II)[1]. The present charter is, therefore, significant in disclosing for the first time the matrimonial relationship that existed between the Pālas of Bengal and the Chahamānas of Śākambharī. The charter under review reveals for the first time that Dēvapaladeva had a son by name Mahēndrapaladeva who succeeded him on the Pāla throne and issued this grant in his seventh regnal year. Historians were of the view that Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) was succeeded by Vigrahapāla I.[2] They were also not in agreement over the relationship between the two, some holding that Vigrahapāla was a grandson of Vākpala, the younger brother of Dharmapāladēva through his son Jayapala,[3] while others considered him as the nephew of Dēvapāla.[4] Yet some others opined that Vigrahapala and Śūrapāla are identical.[5] The recently edited Lucknow Museum plate of Śūrapāla I[6] shows that Devapāla was succeeded by Śūrapāla (I).[7] This charter disproves the genealogy of the Pālas of Bengal as hitherto enunciated by historians from Dēvapāla downwards.

It is interesting to observe here that as many as nine inscriptions[8] were discovered long ago in Bihar and Bengal which mention one Mahēndrapala. Since they were all short inscriptions engraved mostly on the pedestals of images which hardly contain any information regarding the family or genealogy of the king figuring therein and in the absence of the valuable clue of the existence of a Pāla king of that name immediately after Devapala, scholars assigned them to the Imperial Pratihāra king of that name. Based on this erroneous identification, D.C. Sircar wrote that "The great

1 *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ch. II, p. 27; *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, ch. III, p. 26.

2 *The History of Bengal*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar, ch. VI, p. 126.

3 *Ibid*., ch. VI, p. 126; above, Vol, XL, p. 10.

4 *History of Bengal*, Vol. VI, p. 12.

5 *The Pālas of Bengal* by R. D. Banerji, ch. III, p. 17.

6 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 4 ff.

7 D.C. Sircar surmises, based on the evidence of the Lucknow Museum charter, that Śūrapāla was the son of Dēvapāla and was therefore different from Vigrahapāla I who was the son of Dēvapāla's cousin Jayapāla. We have therefore to place now the reigns of two rulers viz., Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I between Dēvapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla (*Ibid.*, Vol XL, p. 10).

8 Bhandarkar originally listed seven inscriptions which are as follows : Nos. 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646 and 1647. Subsequently, one more inscription of Mahēndrapāla was discovered which was subsequently edited by D.C. Sircar viz., Mahisantōsh image inscription of Mahēndrapāla, year 16 (Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff.).

mite of the Gurjara-Pratiharas was exhibited by Bhoja's son Mahendrapāla (c. 885-905 A.D.) who wrested considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal from Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 855-910 A.D.), the grandson of Devapala's brother, between the 17th and 54th year of the Pala king's reign. As we have seen above, Mahèndrapāla is known to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal atleast from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year[1]. The success of Mahendrapala must have made Nārayanapāla's position precarious as the lord of Bengal and Bihar. During the period in question, the Pāla king may have been ruling over a small part of Bengal or Bihar either as an independent monarch fighting with the Gūrjara Pratihāras or as a subordinate ally of Mahēndrapāla,[2] Another historian opined that "the glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not long survive the death of Devapāla. The rule of his successors... was marked by a steady process of decline and disintegration which reduced the Palas almost to an insignificant political power in North India".[3]

The present grant dispells all such erroneous views[4] regarding the extent of the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras after the death of Dēvapāla viz., the alleged shrinkage of the Pāla empire following the supposed expansion of the empire of the Imperial Pratihāras launched by the Imperial Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla and the state of affairs in the Pala kingdom on the demise of the Pala king (i.e., Devapala). It may be noted, after a careful scrutiny of all the nine inscriptions discovered earlier and belonging to Mahendrapāla, that Mahendrapāla maintained intact practically the entire kingdom that he inherited from his father Dēvapāladēva. Judging from the provenance of his inscriptions, it can be surmised that his kingdom comprised considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal (including North Bengal). If the reign period of Devapāla is taken as 810-50 A.D., his son Mahēndrapāla should have ascended the Pāla throne in 850 A.D. and ruled for 15 years (865 A.D.) according to his inscriptions. An important point that was overlooked by historians while identifying Mahendrapāla figuring in the inscriptions found in Bihar and Bengal with his Imperial Pratihara namesake was that all of them employ Gaudīya characters[5] which are akin to those

1 See Bhandarkar's list pp. 228-29. Sircar, following R.D. Banerji and R.C. Majumdar, opines that No. 6 (Bhandarkar's No. 1647) in which the date read as the year 19 is supposed to be wrong, is now regarded as the same as No. 3 (Bhandarkar's No. 1644) in which the date is read as year 6 or 9. Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 205, f.n. 10. See also *The Pālas of Bengal*, ch. III, p.. 24; *History of Bengal*, Appendix I, p. 175. *M.A.S.I.*, No. 66; Nalanda and its epigraphical material, Hirananda Sastri, pp. 105-06

2 Above vol. XXXVIII, p. 207.

3 *History of Bengal*, ch. VI, pp. 125.

4 We would like to point out a similar instance in which three copper-plate charters were wrongly assigned to the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman and with the discovery of the Māndla copper-plate charter (*Ep. Ind.*., Vol. XL., p. 213) it was found that they really belonged to Trailōkyavarman of the Kalachuri of Tripuri family. *Śrīnidhi (Sri K. R. Srinivasan Festschrift)*, p. 303.

5 R.D.Banerji while writing on the Rām-Gaya inscription (Bhandarkar's No. 1645) remarks about the characters employed in that inscription as follows : "Acute angled characters of the ninth century A.D. had been used in it". About the characters used in the Paharpur inscription of Mahēndrapāla (*Ibid.*, No. 1643) the editor remarks that the numerical figure 5 in the epigraph has much resemblance with the modern Bengali and the numerical figure 7 found in the same inscription is exactly similar to modern Bengali 7. *M. A.S.I.*, No. 55, p. 75; Sircar while editing the Mahīsantōsh image inscription of Mahēndrapāla (Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 204 ff.) says "an interesting palaeographical feature of the epigraph is the use of cursive type of *anusvāra* in *saptamyāṁ* in line 1." (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

found in the Pāla records of this period. There are several instances to show that when kings invaded distant kingdoms and set up their own inscriptions in their newly conquered territories they only employed the script that was prevalent in their original country as exemplified by the Bādāmi inscription of Narasimhavarman[1] and the Jura *praśasti* of Krishṇa III.[2]

In the light of the charter under review which reveals the existence and reign of a new Pāla king, Mahēndrapāla, the chronology of the Pāla dynasty after Dēvapāla has to be worked out afresh. The Lucknow Museum copper-plate inscription of Śūrapāla, regnal year 3, which is the only copper-plate charter known so far of that king[3] shows that Śūrapāla was born to Dēvapāla through his queen Māhaṭā, the daughter of Durlabharāja and that the latter succeeded the former. It, however, makes no mention of Mahēndrapāla who finds mention for the first time in the present charter. In the charter under review there is a reference to one Śūrapāla who acted as the royal messenger (*dūtaka*) of the grant and whose relationship with the king is described as the same that existed between the epic heroes Lakshmaṇa and Śrīrāma. This indirectly shows that Mahēndrapāla and Śūrapāla were brothers, the former being the elder who was reigning at that time, while the latter was younger and functioned as the crown-prince. This Śūrapāla is no doubt identical with Śūrapāla (I) of the Lucknow Museum charter. Piecing together these facts we may conclude that Dēvapāla had two sons by his queen Māhaṭā viz., Mahēndrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) and that both ruled over the Pāla kingdom one after the other.

It is somewhat puzzling that Mahēndrapāla is nowhere mentioned in the Lucknow Museum plate. Further, both Mahēndrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) are not at all mentioned in the genealogies given in other Pāla charters. Only in the Badal pillar inscription, Śūrapāla (I) is mentioned after Dēvapāla. Based on the solitary evidence found in the Badal pillar inscription,[4] scholars arrived at the conclusion that Śūrapāla (I) and Vigrahapala (I) are identical. What could be the reasons for the glaring omission of both Mahēndrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) in the genealogies of the Pāla charters barring of course the Badal pillar inscription which, strictly speaking, is not a eulogy of the Pāla dynasty but a eulogy of Gurava-miśra, the minister of the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla and his family? It is not possible to give a categorical answer to this vexed question. One

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1 The Bādāmi inscription of Narasimhavarman (I) is written in Pallava-Grantha characters. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 1.

2 The Jura *praśasti* of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa (III) is written in Kannada characters. (Above., Vol XIX, pp. 287 ff.).

3 A number of stone image inscriptions of Śūrapāla are already known. Two Indian Museum Inscriptions of Śūrapāla, year 2. *JASB.*, (1908) New Series, Vol. IV, Nos. V and VI, p. 107. *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, Lucknow, 1980, Nos. 5-6 pp. 67-70; B.N. Mukherji, *Asiatic Society Monthly Bulletin*, Calcutta, Vol. VI, No. 10, November 1971, pp. 4-5; D.C. Sircar, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LXI, 1975, pp. 131 ff.; *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. VII, pp. 102 ff.; Above, Vol II, pp. 161and plate.

4 Above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and plate; Bhandarkar's list, No. 1620.

plausible explanation that can be adduced is that both Mahēndrapāla and Śūrapāla (I) were born to Dēvapāla by his queen Māhaṭa. Queen Māhaṭa, it may be noted, belonged to the Chāhamāna stock and was the daughter of Durlabharāja I. Durlabharāja I, the Chāhamāna king of Śākambharī, as has been shown above, was earlier an ally of the Imperial Pratīhāras, the inveterate foes of the Pālas of Bengal. After the success of Dharmapāla in conquering Uttarāpatha, Durlabharāja (I) changed his allegiance and entered into matrimonial relationship with the former. But the newly formed friendship did not last long between the Pālas and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī. For, Gūvaka I, the son of Durlabharāja I, again shifted allegiance to Nāgabhaṭa (II) thus snapping once for all the ties with the Pālas. Could this shift in the allegiance of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī back to their traditional overlords viz., the Imperial Pratīhāras be a cause for the omission of the two kings, who had sprung from Chāhamāna-Pāla matrimonial relationship, in the Pāla genealogy?[1]

The Lucknow Museum plate of Śūrapāla (I) shows that Śūrapāla (I) was different from Vigrahapāla I, who was the son of Dēvapāla's cousin Jayapāla while Śūrapāla (I) was the son of Dēvapāla himself. While editing the charter D.C. Sircar remarked that, as a result of the discovery of the Lucknow Museum charter mentioned above, we have to place now the reigns of the two rulers viz., Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I, between Dēvapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla."[2] Now, with the discovery of the present charter, the reign of Mahēndrapāla who, it may be noted, had a comparatively long reign of more than fifteen years as his inscriptions show, would also have to be accommodated with Śūrapāla I and Vigrahapāla I between the reign periods of Dēvapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla.

Unlike in other Pāla charters, in the present charter two messengers (*dūtaka*) are mentioned in connection with the conveyance of the royal order namely Vajradēva and Śūrapāla. While noticing the occurrence of the word *ni* both at the beginning and at the end of line 1 in the Bāngarh[3] and Belwa[4] copper-plate charters, Sircar remarked "the grant was registered by two high officers of the king or was examined first by one officer and then by another officer or by the king himself."[5] In this case, the royal order was first brought and conveyed from the sovereign by *Mahāsēnāpati* Vajradēva, to other high officials and later on by Śūrapāla to the residents of the granted town and other local officials. This charter is therefore unique in having two royal messengers (*dūtaka*).

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1 We have a similar instance of deliberate omission of the name of a king in the pedigree of the dynasty written subsequently. In the genealogy of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, the name of Mangalēśa is simply passed on in all the subsequent records without mention (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 349) because of his unedifying and inglorious act of trying to retain the Chalukyan throne for himself and his family ignoring the claim of the rightful heir.

2 Above, Vol. XL, p. 10.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 1 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XL, p.4.

The progenitor of the family to which the *Dutaka* Vajradeva belonged is said to be Devaradeva. This name is of special linguistic interest. It is already known that the dynasties like the Palas, the Senas, etc., who ruled over parts of Bihar and Bengal, had intimate association with Karnataka as known from their own records. The word *devaradevah* occurs in Kannada language and it stands for the Sanskrit word *devasya devah, ra* forming the genetive suffix in Kannada grammar. There are several words with the genetive suffix *ra* in Kannada language like *devara-gudi, devara-mane*, etc. It is possible to postulate that the occurrence of this name is one more tangible proof of the intimate association the Palas of Bengal had with Karnataka.[1]

It has been seen above (verse 7) that Devapala constructed two temples, one dedicated to Sugata (*Sugata-sadma*) and another for Gauri (*Gauryah griham*). It is, however, not clear whether Gauri represented the Hindu goddess or a Buddhist goddess. The plate under discussion states that the *vihara* set up by Mahendrapala in the town called Nandadirghika was dedicated to Vu(Bu)ddha-bhattaraka. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the Nalanda copper-plate charter of Devapaladeva where it is stated that *Maharaja* Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa caused the construction of a *vihara* for Buddha-bhattaraka at Nalanda. It is interesting to find close similarity in phraseology in the description of the Buddha and the beneficiaries of the grant as given in the Nalanda and the present charters. As discussed above, the grant was made by Mahendrapala for the worship and anointment of Lord Buddha, Prajñaparamita and other leading divinities, the Arya-Avaivarttikas forming the group of Bodhisattvas, eight great holy personages and individuals belonging to Arya-bhikshu-sangha. It is interesting to note that the above list reveals the hierarchical structure of the entire Buddhist order. Naturally enough, the first and foremost is Buddha-bhattaraka. After him is mentioned Prajñaparamita and other Buddhist divinities. Next in order are mentioned the group of Bodhisattvas. Their description as Avaivarttikas takes into account the fact that they are persons firmly set on the road to enlightenment. In Buddhist literature, this expression is used regularly in connection with the Bodhisattvas.[2]

In this connection, we may refer to the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapala, regnal year 39, in which, in lines 38-39, almost similar phraseology is found. However, both Hirananda Sastri[3] and D.C. Sircar[4] were not able to provide us the correct reading of a phrase in question which has been read by them as "*Prajñaparamitadi-sakala-dharmma-nettri-sthanasy-arthe tamtra(tri)ka Vo(Bo)dhisatva-ganasya*". A closer examination of the facsimile provided in *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XVII) shows beyond

1 D.C. Sircar, *J.N. Banerji Volume*, Karnatas outside Karnata, p. 211.
2 See *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 72.
3 Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 310 ff.
4 *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 16, p. 71 f.

doubt that the reading here is exactly the same as in the plate under study viz., *Prajñāparamitādi-sakala-dharmma-nēttri-sthānasy-āry-āvaivarttika-Vo(Bō)dhisatva-gaṇasya*".

The last to be mentioned in the hierarchy are the members of the Pudgalārya-bhikshu-saṅgha. The word '*Pudgala*' in this context simply refers to a person or creature or his soul and by this is implied the fact that in terms of intellectual attainment the members of the *bhikshu-saṅgha* have a long way to go as compared with *Bōdhisattvas* and *ashṭa-mahāpurushas*.

As regards the identification of the important localities referred to in the charter, the first place of importance that finds mention is Auddalakhaṭaka where the king (Mahēndrapāla) was camping at the time the grant was issued. From the way it is described in the charter, it will appear that the place would have been on the banks of river Ganges (Bhagīrathī). The Bangarh grant of Mahīpāla,[1] one of the later successors of Mahendrapala, was issued from Vilāsapura which is also stated to have been situated on the banks of the river Bhagīrathī. It is, however, not possible to identify Auddalakhaṭaka in the present state of our knowledge. The town Nanda-dīrghikā in Kuṇḍalakhaṭaka-vishaya in Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, where Mahēndrapala constructed the *vihāra* and donated it to the same town along with the neighbouring lands, cannot also now be identified. Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti is said to have been "the biggest division or province of the Gauḍa empire. It extended from the summit of the Himālayas in the North to Khāḍi in the Sundarban region in the South".[2] Kuṇḍalakhaṭaka-vishaya figures in some other later charters also. While describing the boundaries of the granted town Nandadīrghikā mention is made of the river Ṭaṅgila (ll.31, 35) which is described as flanking Nandadīrghikā on the east (l.31) and on the south (l.35). The river Ṭaṅgila is evidently identical with the river Tangan which flows from Dinajpur through Malda District and joins the river Mahananda at Muchia Aiho.[3] Kuvja-ghaṭikā, described as situated on the banks of that river, Narayanavasa, lying between Kasiggara and Vammaka, are two places mentioned in the grant as bordering on the east of the granted town. Kuvja-ghaṭikā can be tentatively identified with the modern village Ghalika while Nārāyaṇavāsa may be identified with the modern village Lakshmīnarayanpur in Bamangola police station in Sadar sub-division in Malda District. Kasiggara may be identical with Kasimpur, if the latter could be an Islamised form of the earlier place-name, while Vammaka cannot be identified. The places mentioned as lying on the west of the granted town are Gōlaṭi, where there was a water fall, and Jagaravasaka, which contained an ant hill and an *aśvattha* tree, Vijjaka-vandhaka and Shaṇḍala. Gōlaṭi may probably be identical with Goaljai.

1 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 324 ff.

2 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ch. I, p. 24

3 *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Malda (1918), p. 5.

Jagaravasaka, however, cannot be identified. Shandala can be identical with Santara. The village Uttarakunda is stated to be situated on the north-east of the granted town. There are atleast four villages in the Bamangola police station with their names prefixed by Uttara and it is not possible to identify Uttarakuṇḍa with anyone of them with certainty. The village Nandasuralpa is stated to be lying on the south of the granted village, along with the river Taṅgila. Nandasuralpa can be identified with the modern village Nandinadaha. It is unfortunate that it has not been possible to identify Nandadīrghikā where Mahendrapala caused a *vihara* to be set up and donated the town (*udraṅga*) along with the lands to the divinities of the very same *vihāra* as well to the mendicants *(ārya-bhikshu-saṁgha)* residing there. Svalpa-Nandapara[1] which lay to the south of the granted town also cannot now be identitied. Darddaranya-maṇḍala over which king Dharmapala made Narayaṇa, the father of Vajrata, as the chief (*adhipati*) also cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. In suggesting the identifications of some of the places mentioned in the grant, we hasten to add that they are by no means certain and that we have been guided mainly by the description of these places mentioned in the grant and a comparison of the same with the details available in the modern map and the village list.[2] If our identification proves correct, it may indirectly help in identifying Kundalakhataka-vishaya which at best, we can say, included parts of Malda District.

The engraver Mahada is not known so far from any other epigraph. It is interesting to find that he is endowed with the title *samanta* which shows that he might have been serving as a chieftain under the Pala king Mahendrapala.[3]

TEXT[4]

[Metres : Verses 17-19, 21, 23 *Anushṭubh* : verse 24, *Indravajrā* ; verses 2, 25, 29 *Mālinī* ; verse 34, *Mandākrantā* ; verse 20, *Pushpitāgra* ; verses 1, 4, 8, 10, 14-15, 26, 31, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5, 27, 32, *Sragdhara* ; verses 3, 6-7, 12-13, 16, 22, 33, *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 9, 11, 28, 30 *Upajāti*]

Obverse

1 Siddham[5] [1*] Svasti I Śrīm[a]n=manita-śasano nijava(ba)-

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1 It is interesting to observe that there are a number of villages, the names of which end in 'pāra' like Benganāpāra, Dakshin Nāupāra, Gārāpāra, Meherpāra in Bamangola police station itself. See Village List of Bamangola Police Station (printed), pp. 9-10.

2 Village List of Bamangola Police Station (printed) and The One Millionth Map of India (political edition).

3 That the engravers were men of distinction who occupied a very high position in official hierarchy in the Pāla-Sena period is further known from the Deopāra *praśasti* of Vijayasena where the engraver Śūlapāṇi is endowed with the title *Rāṇaka* and is described as the crest jewel of the guild of artists of Vārendra *(Vārendraka-śilpi-goshṭhī-chūḍāmaṇi* (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 42 ff, Bhandarkar's List No. 1683).

4 From impressions.

5 Expressed by a symbol.

2 lair=adhyāsitō vīryavān |[1] A[t*]y=ānanda-subhū-

3 ti-nandita-mahā-dāna-priyaḥ kshāntimān | bhā

4 svad=vaṅśa(ṁśa)-bhavaḥ praja(jā)-hitakarō ,niḥśēsha-bhūmīśvaraḥ siddhārthō bhuvanāni pātu Sugataḥ pātā cha dharmma-sti(thi)teḥ || [1*]Nṛipatir=iha va(ba)bhūva dhva-

5 sta-dōsh-āndhakārō Ravir=iva paṭa-dhāmnān=dhāma Gōpāla nāmā | agaṇita-guṇa-ratnam yam samāsādya jātā hari-vasati-sukhēbhyō

6 datta-tōy-āñjaliḥ śrīḥ || [2*] Aty=uddhata-dvishad=anēka-jay-ārjjita-śrīḥ śrī-Dharmmapāla iti tasya sutō va(ba)bhūva | prakshālitāni Kali-sa-

7 ntamas=āvilāni yasy=Ēndradēva-yaśasā kakubhām=mukhāni || [3*] Durvvārā[n*]=dvishatō vijitya samarē tān=Indrarāja(j=ā)dikān|[1] Sindhūnām=adhipa-

8 m=pramadhya(thya) rabhasād=unmīlita-kshmābhṛitā | dattā yēna mahī mahōdayavatī vikrānti-bhājē nija[ṁ*] nirvyāja[ṁ*] nati Vāmanāya Va(Ba)linā Chakrā-

9 yudhāy-ā[r]thinē || [4*] Rēṇun(ṇūn)=yasy=āṅgaṇēbhyō hata-ripu-mahishī-śva(śvā)sa-vātā haranti siñchaty=ētāni mādyat=kari-karaṭa-galad=dāna-tōya-pravāhāḥ [|*]

10 rājñāṁ sēvā-parāṇām= praṇata-nija-śirō-ratna-pushpa-prata(tā)nair=ddōr= ddarpp-ānīta-lakshmī-kara-kamala-dhṛitaḥ pūjitaḥ pāda-padmaḥ || [5*] Nītēr=vilāsa-bha-

11 vanam=priya-Vikramāyāḥ śrī-Dēvapāla iti tat=tanayō va(ba)bhūva | yaḥ kautukād=iva jagatpu(t=pa)davīn=didṛikshuś=chaṁkramyatē sma bhavan-āṅgana-līlay=ēva || [6*] Da-

12 ṇḍ-ōpanīta-kanakair=vvasudhādhipānām rājā mahā-samara-nāṭaka-sūtradhāraḥ | yō nirmmamē Sugata-sadma-gṛihañ=cha Gauryā yat=kautukañ=cha vi(ti)la-

13 kañ=cha jagat=trayē='pi || [7*] Durvvār-āstra-nipāta-bhīshaṇa-raṇat= sannāha-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayaṁ(yam)| sākshīkṛitya vibhāvasuṁ raṇa-śirō-vēdī-mahāmaṇḍapē | kha-

14 ḍg-āvarjjitai(ta)-vairi-vāraṇa-ghaṭā-kumbh-āśṛig-ambhaḥ-plutō yō jagrāha karam kshitīśvara-varō niḥśēsha-bhūbhṛid-bhuvāṁ(vām) || [8*] Yaṁ yōdhayāmās ur=arātayas=tē yē-

15 shāṁ riraṁsā sura-sundarībhiḥ | tathā Vivasvad=bhramaṇ-āvadhīni yaiḥ krētuṁ ishṭāny=asubhir=yaśāṅsi(ṁsi)||' [9*] Dharmmasya prasavēna yēna vipulām=bhūtiñ=chi-

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1 The stroke is redundant.

16 ram=vibhratā bhrū-līlā-huta-Kāmarūpa-vibhavēn=ārōhat=ādyam= bhṛisham(śaṁ)| Durggāyāś=cha Himālay=āchala-bhuvaḥ ślāghyaṅ= karaṅ=gṛihna(hṇa)tā samyaktvam=pa-

17 ramēśvaratvam=aparan=dēvēna[1] sandarśitam|| [10*] Sa Chāhamān-anvaya-vāridh-indōḥ sādhvīṁ sutāṁ Durllabha-rāja-nāmnaḥ śrī-Māhaṭāṁ dharmma-parāṁ narēndratrai(s=tra)-

18 yīm-iv-ō[dvā*]ha salakshaṇ-āṅgīm || [11*] Sā Dēvak=iva naradēva-sahasra-vandyaṁ saukaryatō vasumatī-bharam=udvahantam | Lakshmyāḥ svayaṁvarapatim=Purushō-

19 ttamañ=cha dēvaṁ sut-ōttamam=asūta Mahēndrapālam || [12*] Yasy=āśā-vijaya-prayāṇa-rajasāṁ sāndrē samutsarppati vyūhē nirbhara-pūrit-āmva(āmba)-

20 ratayā sampādit-ōrvvī-drumē | spṛishṭē pāda-talair=akāṇḍa-patan-āśaṅkā-chamatkāriṇō vidyām=utpatan=aika-hētum=ajayan=vidyādharāṇāṁ-ga-

21 ṇāḥ[2] || [13*] Ā-prālēya-girēr=vṛishāṅka-vṛishabha-kshuṇṇ-āgra-ratna-sthalād=ā-sindhōr=Ddaśakandhar-āri-viśikha-vyālōḍit=āntarjjalāt | ā-pūrvv-ā-

22 para-diṅ-mukh=aika-tilakāt śaila-dvayāt=bhūbhujō nirvyājaṁ nipatanti yasya charaṇē dūr-āntarair=mmaulibhiḥ || [14*] Khaḍg-ōtkhāta-mahēbha-kumbha-vi-

23 galat-kīlāla-dhārā-jalē jātō vairi-vadhū-vilōchana-vamad=vā(bā)shp-āmvu(mbu)bhir=vvardhitaḥ | santiry=ādhipatīn=apām=prati-diśaṁ yataḥ sahasrair=mmukhai-

24 ś=chitram=[pāva]ka-haraṇair-vilasitō yasya pratāp=ānalāḥ |[|15*] Tvaṁ sarvvadā nṛipati-chandra-jaya-śrīy-ārthī svapnē='pi na praṇayinī bhavatō ='ham ā-

25 saṁ(sam) | itham=bhiyā kupitay=ēva ripūn=bhajantyā vyājṛimbhirē samara-kēli-sukhāni yasya || [16*] sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-p..tha-pravarttamāna-nān-ā-

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1 The poet here employs double entendre in using the word '*Paramēśvaratvam*' according to which the king obtained the title *Paramēśvara* as well as he became equal to Śiva (because of his conquest of the Himālayan kingdoms). The word '*kara*' too has been used in double entendre viz., in the case of the king it means the tax collected from his subjects in his Himālayan kingdoms, while in the case of Lord Śiva it means hand i.e., Śiva, obtaining the hand of Pārvatī, the daughter of Himavān.

2 The phenomenon of trees blossoming on contact with damsels is called *dōhada* in Sanskrit literature.

Strīnāṁ sparśāt=priyaṅkur=vikasati vakulaḥ sīdhu-gaṇḍūsha-sēkāt=

pādā-ghātād=aśōkas=tilaka-kurabakān vīkshaṇ-āliṅganābhyām |

mandārō narma-vākyāt=paṭu-mṛidu-hasanāch=champakō vaktra-vātāch=

chūtō gītān=namērur=vikasati cha purō vartanāt=karṇikāraḥ //

In this case, the tree which blossoms on being kicked by the foot of the damsel is Aśōka.

MĀLDĀ DISTRICT MUSEUM PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 7—PLATE I

Obverse

K. V. Ramesh

26 dhipa-nauvāṭaka-sampādita-sētuva(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrēṇi-vibhramat I niratiśaya-ghana-ghanā-ghana-ghaṭā-śyāmāyamāna-

27 vāsara-lakshmī-samaravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāt udi(dī)chīn-anēka-narapati-prābhṛitīkṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-dhara-khur-ōtkhāta-

28 dhūlī-prasarita-dig-antarālāt Paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-aśēsha-Jamvū(mbū)-dvīpa-bhupāla-pādān=ā-bhara-namad=avaneḥ Auddālakhāṭaka-samā-

29 vāsita-śrīmaj=jayaskandhāvārāt paramasaugata-paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvapāladeva-pad-ānudhyātaḥ

30 paramasaugataḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān Mahēndrapāladevaḥ kuśalī II śrī-Puṇḍravardhana-

31 bhuktau Kunda[la]khāṭaka-vishayē Na[n*]dadīrghik-odrange sīmā I Tatra pūrvvēṇa Ṭangila-nady=ardha-śrōtaḥ parichchhinna dakshiṇen=āpi Kuvja-gha-

32 ṭik-ār[1]ddha-śrotikaya Kāsiggara-Vammaka-madhyena Nārāyaṇa-vāsīya-pūrvva-sīm-avadhiḥ I Paśchimēn=āpi Gōḷaṭi-nirjjharē-

33 ṇ-Aja[ga]ra-vasak-avakhatēna valmīka-stūpen=āśvattha-vṛikshēṇa Vijjagavandha

34 kaṁ paśchima-Shaṇḍāl-āntar-āmalakī-vṛiksha-paryantaḥ Uttareṇ=āpy=ataḥ pūrvvamukho[2]='ttarakuṇḍa dakshinena Nandāsurālpa

35 Ṭangil-arddha-śroto=vadhiḥ evan=niyamita-sīmni samupāgatām(tān) sarvvān=eva rājanaka-rājaputra-kumārāmātya-bhuktipa-

36 ti-vishayapati-I[3] sēnāpaty=uparika tad=āyuktaka-I[3] viniyuktaka-daṇḍika-daṇḍapāśika-I[3] chauroddharaṇika-I[3] dau[ḥ*]sādhyasādha-

37 nika-[kho]la-dūta-gamāgamik-ābhitvaramāṇa-hasty=aśv=ōshṭra-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-gō-mahishy=ajāvika=va(ba)ḍav=ādhyaksh=ādi-rājapād=opajīvi-

38 no='nyanch (nyaṁś=ch)=āchaṭa-bhaṭa-jātīyān I yathā-kāl-ādhyāsi-vishaya-vyavahāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān vrā(bra)hmaṇa-mānana-pūrvvakam prativāsi-

39 naḥ kshetrakarancha(raṁś=cha) yathārham=mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samādiśati cha matam=astu bhavatām(tām) I mahāsēnāpati-śrī-Vajradēvēna dūtaka-mu-

40 khēna vayam=vijñāpitāḥ I yathā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ sakalasya cha satva-rāśēḥ puṇy=ābhivṛiddhayē Nandadīrghik-ōdrangē mayā vi-

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1 The *avagraha* sign is used here.

2 The engraver had originally written the letter *u* after *khō* and subsequently cancelled it.

3 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

Reverse

41 hāraḥ kāritaḥ tatra yath=ōpari-likhita-Nandadīrghik-ōdraṅga(ṅgo)[1] bhagavatō Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭārakasya Prajñāpāramit-ādi-sakala-

42 dharmma--nettri-sthānasya Āry-āvaivarttika-Vō(Bō)dhisatva-gaṇasy-Ashṭa-mahāpurusha-pudgal-ārya-bhikshu-saṁghasya yathārhaṁ pūjana-lēkha(pa)-

43 n-ādy-arthē chīvara-piṁḍapāta-śayan-āśana[2]-glāna-pratyaya-bhaishajya-parishkār-ādyarthaṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-samādhān-ādy-artham anyē-

44 shām=api mam-ābhimatānām=mat-parikalpita-vibhāgēn=ānavadya-bhōgārthaṁ śrīmad=Bhaṭṭārakapādā[ḥ] dadatv=iti atō='smābhi-

45 s=tadīya-vijñaptyā ayaṁ yath-ōpari-likhita udraṅgaḥ sva-saṁva(ba)ddha-bhūmi-samētaś=chatus=sīmā-paryantaḥ sa-talaḥ s=ōddēśaḥ s=ōpa-

46 rikaraḥ sa-paṭṭa-tar-ōpētaḥ sa-daś-apachā(rā)raḥ(dhaḥ) sa-chaur-ōddharaṇaḥ parihṛita-sarvva-pīḍaḥ achāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēś= ākiñchit-pragrāhyaḥ ǀ

47 rājakul-ābhāvya-sarvva-pratyāya-samētō bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn= āchandr-ārkka-kshiti-samakālaṁ tath=aiva pradattaḥ yatā(tha) bhavadbhi[ḥ*] sarvvair=ēva dāna-

48 m=idam=anumōdanīyaṁ prativāsibhiḥ ǀ kshētrakaraiś=ch-ājñāśravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhutvā samuchita-kara-piṇḍ-ādi pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kāryaḥ [ǀ*]

49 Bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhir=bhūme[r*]=ddāna-phala-gauravād=apaharaṇe mahān=naraka-pātaka-bhayāch=cha dānam=idam=anumōdya paripa(pā)lanīyam=i-

50 ti ǀ Saṁvat 7 Vaiśākha-dinē 2 tathā cha dharmm-ānuśa(śaṁ)nsa(sa)na-ślōkāḥ ǀ Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā datta rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ[ǀ*] yasya yasya ya-

51 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ǀ [ǀ*17] Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [ǀ*] ākshēptā ch=ānumanā(ntā) cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ǀ [ǀ18*]

52 Sva-dattām=para=dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām [ǀ*]sa vishṭāyāṁ kṛimir=bhutvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ǁ [19*] Iti kamala-dal=āmvu(āmbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlaṁ

53 śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [ǀ*] sakalam=idam= udāhṛitañ= cha vu(bu)dhvā na hi purushaiḥ parakīrttayō vilōpyāḥ [ǁ20*] Śrīmat= saṅgrāma-tā-

54 rēṇa kritaḥ sukṛita-karmmaṇi ǁ Saumitrir=iva Rāmēṇa Śūrapālō='tra dūtakaḥ ǁ [21*] Śrīmān kulē mahati Dēvaradēva nāma ślā-

55 ghyō va(ba)bhuva dharaṇī-tala-gīta-kīrttiḥ ǀ ady=āpi sad-guṇa-kath-āśraya

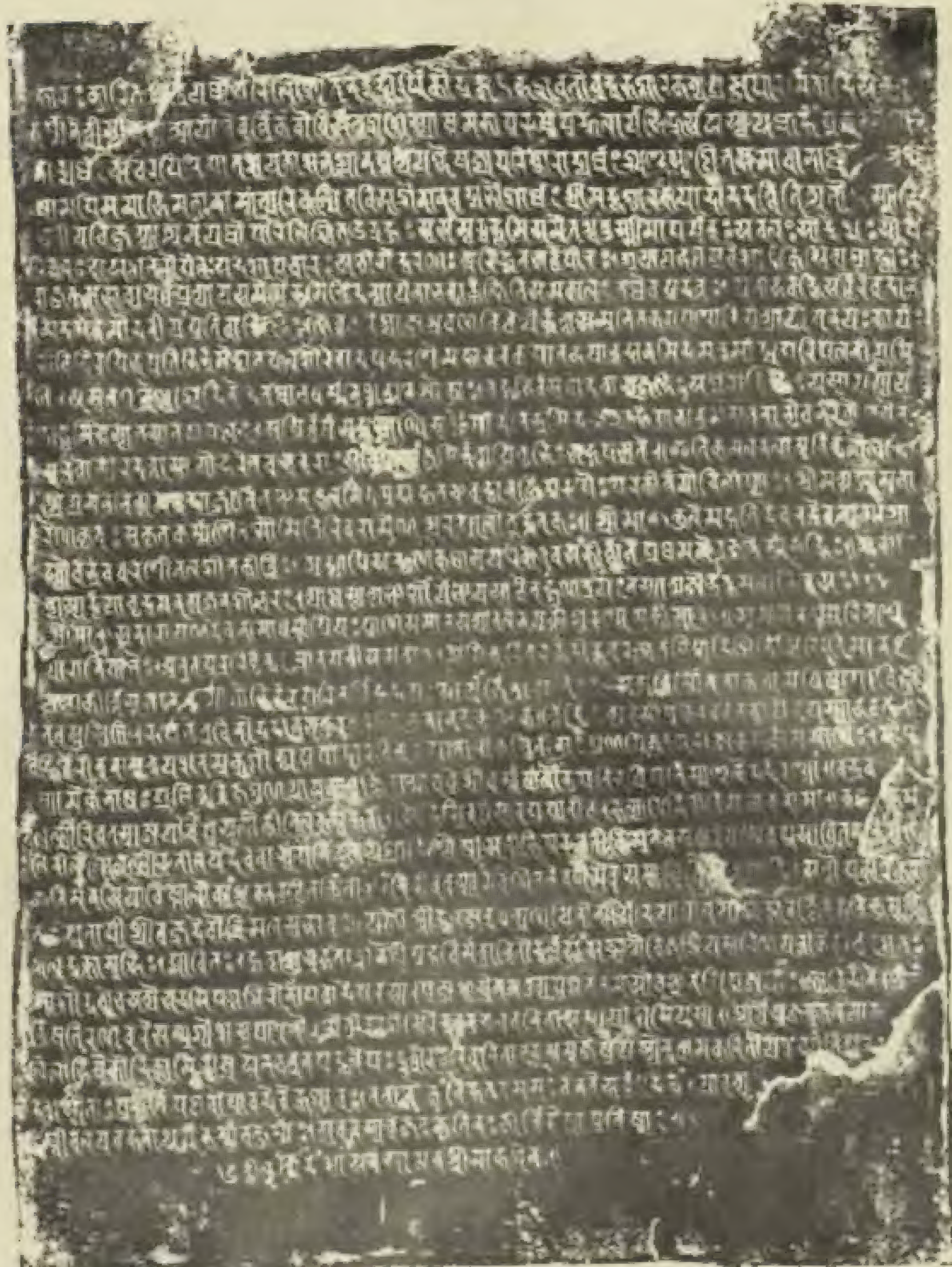
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1 There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

2 Read āsana.

MĀLDĀ DISTRICT MUSEUM PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 7—PLATE II

Reverse



SEAL



ēka ēva saṁkīrttyatē prathamam-ēva janair=mmahadbhiḥ || [22*] Anyō-
56 nya-spardhayā vṛiddham=ananya-jana-gōcharam| tyāgas=satyañ=cha sau (śau)ryañ=cha yasya ch=aitad=guṇatrayaṁ(yam) | [|23*]Tasy=ātmajō= bhūt=kamalā-nivāsaḥ ||
57 Śrīmān sa Nārāyaṇadēva nāmā [|*] dharmma-priyaḥ prāṇa-samāna-satyō va(ba)lēna yuktō guruṇā mahīyān || [24*] Amalinatara-vāri-sphāra-
58 dhārā-nipātaiḥ | pluta-vapur=ari=vṛindam mlānayantī samantāt| api kari=vara-bhēd-ōdbhūta-rakt-ānuliptā diśi diśi sitimānam
59 yasya kīrttis=tatāna || [25*] Tyāgō nirbhara-pūrit-ārtha-hṛidayaḥ sau(śau)ryaṁ jit-ārātikam satyan=nirmmita-nākadhāma-dhishaṇā vijñā-
60 ta-vastu-sthiti[ḥ*]| kurvanē(n=nē)tra-vinōda-dāna-chaturam śīla[ṁ*] jan=ānandakṛit | kīrttir=ddik-sarasīshu kairava-vana-chchhāy=ēva yasy=ābhavat || [26*]
61 Vahnir=vvair=indhanānām=nṛipa-śata-mukuṭ-ōdghṛishṭa-pād-āravindaḥ pātā lōka-sthitīnām praṇayi-jana-sarōjākar=ārkāyamāṇaḥ| yaḥ pṛi-
62 thyaṁ(thivyām)=ēka-nāthaḥ prathita-nija-guṇa-ślāghayā varjjit-ātmā chakrē śrī Dharmmapālō nṛipatir=adhipatim=maṇḍalē Daṇḍaraṇyāṁ (ṇyām)|| [27*] Va(Ba)bhūva
63 lakshmīr=iva tasya jāyā vapus-tṛi(s=tri)lōkī tilakam=vahantī | siddhis= tri-varggasya vapushmat=īva Kalyāṇadēv=īti yathāttha(rtha) nāmā || [28*] kula-kama-
64 linī-līnā-lakshmīr=ut=ālaya-dēvatā sva-pati-hṛidaya-grāhiṇy=ēshā satī kim-Arundhatī [|*] kim=uta vasudhar=ēyam=vitta-prasādhita-mandirā |
65 iti manasi yā vishṭā lōkāṁś=chakāra vitarkitān | [|29*]Div=īva tasyāṁ Ravin=ēva tēna Rām=ēva samyag=vidinō(tō)ggu(gu)ṇ=ādi | satv= ōpakār=aika-ra-
66 taḥ pratāpī śrī-Vajradēvō vimala-svabhāvaḥ || [30*] Yō Lakshmīṁ= kulajān-daya(dha)t=praṇayinīm=vīry-ōdayāl=līlayā[1] khaḍg-āvarjjita-danti-kumbha-vi-
67 galad-rakt-āmvu(mbu)bhiḥ plāvitaḥ | hutvā śāstra-hut-āśanē ripu-havir=mantr=ānvitō durllabhaṁ(bhām) saṁgrāmē vija[ya*]-śriyam= pariṇayan=lōkē varatvaṁ gataḥ || [31*]
68 Tyāgō durvvō(bō)dha-satyē sadasi paṭu-girō n=āpavādē parastāt | prajñā-śāstrē nanartta vyapagata-tamasō vañchanē='pi praj=ārkaḥ | kshāntir=dīnē na bhūyō
69 dvishati raṇavarē sammukhē śastra-pāṇau | maitrī tyāgē sthirēbhun-na tu chala-vanitā samprayōgē='pi yasya || [32*]Āryēshu Jahnu-tanayā-sa-

1. See our remarks below.

70 lil-ābhishēkō dik-kāminīshu ghana-chandana-paṅka-lēpaḥ [|*] ddu(du)-rvvāra-vairi-vanitā-vadan-āmvu(mb)jēshu[1] yasy=Endra-dhāma-kalitō yaśasāṁ vitānaḥ [||33*]

71 Bhavyasy=aitāḥ prakṛiti-paṭavō yāvad=ēv=ēha gāvaḥ |[1] tatvālōkaṁ vihata-tamasaḥ tanvatē sarvva-dikkaṁ | yāvat=pṛi-

72 thvī-valaya-vahan-āścharya-karmma(karmmā)cha Ku(Kū)rmmaḥ |[1] tāvat=tasya vrajatu kṛitinaḥ kīrttir=ēshā pratishṭhām || [34*]

73 Utkīrṇṇam=idaṁ śāsanaṁ sāmanta-śrī-Mahadēna ||

TRANSLATION

v.1 Auspiciousness, Hail! May the illustrious Siddhārtha, whose injunctions are obeyed (by all), who, by virtue of his spiritual power, is seated on the exalted throne, who is valorous, who is delighted by wealth, happiness and prosperity, who is fond of granting great boons, who is born in the lusturous race (solar race), who acts for the welfare of his subjects, who is the sole emperor of the entire earth, who is also known as Sugata and who is the upholder of righteousness, protect us.

v.2 There was born a king by name Gōpāla who like the sun destroyed all darkness like blemishes and whose body is resplendent. On seeing him endowed with several gem-like qualities, the goddess of wealth offered oblations of water to the comforts she accrued from her stay in the abode of Hari (in other words she deserted her lord Hari and took shelter under the king).

v.3 His son was Dharmmapāla who attained fame in conquering many an arrogant king. His fame, like that of Indra, purified the faces of the directions defiled by the wicked Kali.

v.4 He defeated the otherwise invincible sovereigns like Indrarāja. In a trice, he pounded the king of the Sindhu country (in battle) and handed over the sovereignity of the kingdom Mahōdaya to the suppliant king Chakrāyudha like the famous demon king Bali who, without showing any trace of dishonesty, gave the entire earth to Vāmana, the incarnation of Lord Vishnu.

v.5 The dust in the quadrangle (of his palace) is blown off by the breath of the dying queens of the enemy kings. The rut flowing from the temples of the mad elephants is sprinkling (the quadrangle of his palace). The jewels adorning the crown of the vassal kings who come down to pay respects to him look like the flowers offered at his lotus-like feet. In his robust hand

1 The stroke is redundant.

rests goddess Lakshmī brought by the might of his hand.

v.6 (He begot) in his wife by name Vikramā, the abode of morality, a son called Dēvapāla who out of sheer curiosity showed his prowess like a child's play in the quadrangle of his house.

v.7 He during his punitive expeditions brought (as booty) gold from various kings and he was indeed the stage director in the drama that was enacted viz., the great war. He built two temples respectively for Sugata and Gaurī, which by their beauty looked like the forehead mark on (the face of) the entire world.

v.8 The day dawned with the sound of his fast thrusting inpenetrable arrows and (it looked as though) he made the sun god stand in the great *maṇḍapa* of the war as witness. He made his sword get wet with the blood oozing out of the pot like heads of the elephants of the enemy forces. He collected taxes from the kings of the hilly kingdoms.

v.9 Your enemies with whom you are fighting are equally desirous of exchanging their lives for fame and in order to enjoy the celestial damsels could reach only upto the regions of the Sun.

v.10 The king appeared indeed as another Paramēśvara (i.e., Lord Śiva) and incarnation of perfection in collecting the commendable taxes from the impregnable Himālayan region (Lord Śiva obtained the praiseworthy hand of Pārvatī, the daughter of Himavān) and who obtained great opulence by following the path of righteousness and who attained celebrity by destroying all passions with the movement of his eye-brows (Śiva destroyed Cupid with the fire of his third eye).

v.11 He married Māhaṭā who was like the three Vēdas and who was the chaste daughter of Durlabha, who was verily the moon in the ocean of the race of the Chāhamānas. She was beautiful and interested in following the path of righteousness.

v.12 Like Dēvakī she gave birth to a son, by name Mahēndrapāla, to whom several kings offered obeisance, who easily bore the burden (of governing) the earth and who was like god Vishṇu whom goddess Lakshmī on her own accord chose as her husband.

v.13 The dust raised during the victorious march (of his army) in various directions became denser and thicker and, enveloping the entire sky, created an impression of making the earth appear like a tree. The Vidyādharas, fearing that the touch of their feet might make the tree blossom out of season, hastened to go up without the help of their supernatural powers.

v.14 The kings in the country bordered by the Himālayas, on the slopes of which

glisten the gems that have been exposed by the hooves of the bull of Śiva, by the sea that was once churned by the arrows of the destroyer of the ten headed demon (i.e., Śrī Rāma) and by the two mountains which look like the forehead marks on the faces of the directions, with their crowns kept aside at a distance, offered their respects to your feet without showing any deception.

v.15 Your fire-like prowess, wonderful indeed like the real fire, is driving away the (enemy) kings to the direction of water, the level of which is fast rising with the rut flowing from the temples of the mighty elephants hit by the sword and the tears falling from the eyes of the wives of the enemy (kings).

v.16 Oh! moon among kings, you are always sought after by the goddess of victory. Even in dreams you never accepted her as your sweet heart. She, therefore, out of anger and fear took refuge under the enemy kings which in turn increased the pleasure (you derived) from (waging) war.

From the illustrious and victorious camp (pitched at) Auddālakhātaka where the illusion of the Sētubandha i.e., the bridge constructed between India and Śrīlaṅkā (across the Palk Straits) with a chain of mountain tops (propped up in the sea) is produced by vessels of various kinds proceeding along the path of the river Bhāgīrathī, where exceedingly dense arrays of rutting elephants darken the beauty of the day and cause the illusion of the beginning of a perpetual rainy season, where the intermediate region between the directions become grey with the dust raised by the sharp hoofs of the countless army of horses, where (the surface of the) earth is bent under the weight of endless infantry of all the kings of Jambūdvīpa (who had) come for serving their overlord (*paramēśvara*), he the *paramēśvara*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, great king of kings (*mahārājādhirāja*), the devout worshipper of Sugata (*parama-saugata*), the illustrious Mahēndrapāladēva, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Dēvapāladēva, the devout worshipper of Sugata (*parama-saugata*), the *paramēśvara*, the *par mabhaṭṭāraka* and the great king of kings (*mahārājādhirāja*), after offering respects to the *brāhmaṇas*, honours, informs and orders (the following persons) in the town of Nandadīrghikā in Kuṇḍālakhātaka-vishaya in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, all royal officers assembled (ll. 35-37) and others (who are) royal dependents, the communities of *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas*, the village accountant (*karaṇa*) conversant with day to day administration, the inhabitants and the cultivators, who have been conveyed (the royal order) through the royal messenger *Mahāsēnāpati* Vajradēva. The boundaries (of the town) are on the east, the river Taṅgila, on the south the stream flowing in Kuvja-ghaṭikā, on the east Nārāyaṇavāsīya situated between Kāsiñjara and Vammaka, on the west water fall at Gōḷaṭi, the anthill and the *aśvattha* tree in Jagaravāsaka,

the western limit of Svalpanandāpāra, the *vilva* tree, Vijjagavandhāka, the gooseberry tree (*āmalakī*) inside the western Shaṇḍāla, on the north east Uttarakuṇḍa and on the south Nandasurālpā and the river Taṅgila. For the increase in merit of self, parents and all living beings, I caused the construction of a *vihāra* in the town of Nandadirghikā already referred to above. For the proper worship, anointment, etc., and for repairs (to the *vihāra*) of *Bhagavat* Vu(Bu)ddhabhaṭṭāraka, the abode of all the leading virtues like the Prajñāpāramitās and for clothing, food, beds, seats, medical treatment and meditation of the venerable group of monks, the group of bodhisattvas and the eight great holy personages as well as others of my choice to be allotted their respective shares in the manner in which I have enumerated, I gave as if directly by myself (*bhaṭṭārakapāda*) the town (*udraṅga*) mentioned earlier alongwith the lands defined by its four boundaries, with lands with low assignments, with *yagña* trees, with ten offences, with the right of extirpation of robbers, with the exemption from all oppresion, not to be entered by regular and irregular troops along with all revenue... by the ban of *bhūmichchhidra* as long as the moon and the sun last.

Then follow the valedictory sentence and imprecatory verses (17-20).

v.21 While the bright star in battles was engaged in this pious act, Śūrapāla, who was like Lakshmaṇa to Śrī Rāma and who was fond of doing pious deeds, was the royal messenger (*dūtaka*).

v.22 In an illustrious family was born a person by name Devaradeva who possessed praiseworthy character and whose fame was sung across the country. Such were his sterling qualities that even now good people speak high of him.

v.23 He was truthful and ready to sacrifice anything. At the same time, he was chivalrous. Thus these three qualities though mutually contradictory found an ideal abode in him which could not be comprehended by anybody.

v.24 His son was Nārāyaṇa, who was always residing with the goddess of wealth, who was fond of doing pious acts, who was truthful even at the cost of his life and who was great in (physical) strength and stature.

v.25 His spotless fame, like the crystal clear white pure water of the gushing water falls, starts whitening the faces of the directions which had been reddened by the blood that had oozed from the mighty elephants which had been put to the sword (in battle).

v.26 He, of a selfless and contented disposition, was equally valorous and could destroy all foes. It is true that his intellect, bright like the firmament, had obtained true knowledge. He was great in munificence and by a look in his

eye he would give away gifts. His sun-like fame cast a shadow over the forest of blue lotuses in the lakes in the directions.

v.27 He used to accelerate the fire (of battle) raging in the camps of enemy kings and his lotus-like feet touched the crowns of hundreds of kings (vassals). He protected the country and was a sun to the lotus like damsels. He was the sole lord of the country and he became self effaced by the praise showered on his qualities. King Dharmmapāla made him chief of the Darddaraṇyamaṇḍala.

v.28 His spouse was Kalyāṇavatī who was like goddess Lakshmī, who appeared like the three supernatural powers having taken a mortal form and who was like a forehead mark on the material form of the three worlds.

v.29 Was she the playful goddess Lakshmī born in the lotus race or was she the chaste Arundhatī herself having attracted the entire heart of her lord? Or was she the presiding deity of a temple or was she the goddess earth herself having obtained a mansion of wealth? Thus she created several doubts in the minds of the people.

v.30 From them who in turn appeared like the sky and the sun respectively was born Vajradēva who like Śrī Rāma was endowed with several praiseworthy virtues, who was always in the habit of doing good to all living beings and who was very powerful.

v.31 He attained celebrity by marrying the rarely attainable goddess of victory who longs to give company to those who are born in the illustrious race and who are coming up in celebrity, who took bath in the blood oozing out of the temples of the (enemy) elephants cut playfully and valorously by his sword before the sacrificial altar of battle with the sacred fire in the form of (fire emitting) missiles to which oblations in the form of ememies were offered to the chanting of *mantras*.

v.32 He was liberal, proficient and foremost in learned assemblies which had been called upon to find out the undiscernible truth and never became a back-bencher when counter-arguments were made. He did not become vain-glorious in the realm of intellect and was like the sun exposing the guiles and expelling the darkness like deceptions. He was indulgent to the distressed and never at any time exhibited any enmity to his enemies except in battles when his arms were armed with missiles. He was friendly, indulgent and firm in his actions whether the goddess of transient wealth praised him or not.

v.33 The spread of his fame along with that of Indra was to the virtuous like being anointed with the holy waters of the Ganges, to the damsels of the quarters

like applying thick sandalwood paste and to the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings[1].

v.34 May this eulogy (of Vajraṭa) last as long as the rays of the sun, which are by nature intense, continue to dispel darkness from all directions and the tortoise (an incarnation of Vishṇu) continues to perform the awe-inspiring feat of bearing the burden of the earth on its back.

This charter was engraved by *Sāmanta* Māhaḍa.

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1 The author of the *praśasti* has failed to mention how the fame of Vajraṭa acted on the lotus like faces of the damsels of the impenetrable enemy kings as he had described in the case of the virtuous people and the damsels of the quarters.

No. 3—YAWATMAL PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II, YEAR 26

(*2 Plates*)

Ajay Mitra Shastri and Chandrashekhar Gupta, Nagpur

These two plates, forming parts of one charter and published here for the first time, were rescued by Shri R.M. Saklecha from a copper-smith at Yawatmal, the headquarters of the district of that name in Maharashtra, just when they were about to go to the melting pot. They were acquired from Shri Saklecha by Shri P.P. Kulkarni, Joint Secretary of the Coin Society of Nagpur, who was kind enough to allow us to study and publish them. We thank him sincerely for this gesture.

The plates are rectangular in shape and measure 9.5 cms. high and 19.5 cms. in length. About the middle of the left margin of each of the plates there is a circular hole meant for the passage of the copper ring which held the plates together. When these plates were rescued the ring and the seal were missing. Of the two plates, the first bears writing on both sides while the other plate is inscribed only on one, obviously, the inner side. Each inscribed face contains six lines, there being in all eighteen lines. The writing is well preserved.

The charter of which of these plates form part is incomplete and a comparison with the other Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions shows that they represent the second and last plates of the charter respectively. The engraving of these plates is excellent.

The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the Southern alphabets. They are regular to the priod to which they belong and do not call for any special remarks. However, a few interesting features may be noticed here. The joining of the left and of the cross bar and upper end of the left lower limb of the letter *k* resulting from the attempt to write the letter with a single stroke is noticed frequently (see lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13 and 14). Subscripts *ch* and *v* are so similar in appearance that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. *J* is without a box; its upper part is generally smaller in breadth. Sometimes the upper part takes the form of a square as in °*jala*°, line 1; °*hāraja*°, line 2; and superscript *j* in *saty-ārjjava*, line 3, etc. Elsewhere in lines 3 and 4, it has a slight notch in both the upper and lower horizontal lines. *Bh* has generally a short horizontal stroke to right emanating from the lower end of the left limb. The final consonant is without a box and smaller than an ordinary letter (see *t* and *m* in line 10). The medial *ā* sign, the vertical line emanating from the right end of the horizontal stroke attached to the right top of the box, is fairly long. The medial *ai* in *ṇai* is indicated in a somewhat strange manner; one stroke is attached to the top

of the letter and the other to its left lower limb (line 5). *Visarga* has three different forms: (i) a couple of horizontal lines placed one above the other (lines 6 and 11); (ii) a dot above a horizontal line (line 4); and (iii) a horizontal line above a dot (line 16). Punctuation marks consist of one (lines 15 and 16) or two (line 17) horizontal lines which are somewhat curved. The sign for *upadhmanīya* is met with in lines 7 and 9. We find the numerical symbols for 1 (line 18), 4 (line 18), 6 (line 17), 10 (line 18) and 20 (line 17). The symbol for 6 is noticed for the first time in the Vākāṭaka records and resembles *ph*. In the Vākāṭaka epigraphs we come across two forms of 4. The form found in our record resembles that in 400 in line 20 of the Wadgaon plates of Pravarasēna II.[1]

As regards **orthography**, occasional reduplication of the consonant following *repha* (e.g., *mūrddhā*, line 1; *tyārjjava* and *sauryya*, line 3; *dharmma*, line 4, etc.) and that of *v* following a real or supposed *anusvāra* (*dattaṁ vva*, line 15; *savva*, line 17) and the employment of *anusvāra* in place of final *m* (*likhitaṁ*, line 18) are noteworthy.

The charter refers itself to the reign of king Pravarasēna II, son and successor of Rudrasena II of the main branch of the Vākāṭakas. Even though these are only two of the four plates of the charter, fortunately not much is lost except only the place of issue (which must have been given on the inner side of the first plate), for the missing plates contained only the initial portion of the genealogical account and such formal details as privileges and exemptions accompanying the grant. All the important points of historical interest are preserved on the extant plates.

The **genealogical** account concerning Pravarasēna I was accommodated on the first plate which is missing. On the first extant (actually second) plate of our record we find mention of Gautamīputra, his son Rudrasēna I, his son Pṛithivīshēṇa I, his son Rudrasēna II and his son and successor Pravarasēna II who was born of Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta (i.e., Chandragupta II Vikramāditya). Their description, which is exactly the same as found in other records of Pravarasēna II, need not be repeated here.

The **object** of the charter is to register the renewal, by Pravarasēna II, of the grant of some land together with a couple of house-sites (*nivēśana-dvayam*) in the village Lāṭakapalli included in the administrative unit called Shaḍgriśaka. The donees were Indrārya and Svāmideva who were students of the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda* and belonged to the Vatsa *gotra*. It is stated that the land was already being enjoyed by the donees. Even though some portion of the relevant sentence is lost in the missing plate, it appears from the concluding word (though incomplete) on the second side of the first plate that the grant was renewed by means of issuing a copper-plate charter (*tāmra-śāsana*), viz., the present plates. The charter was issued on the

1 *CII*, Vol. V, Pl. XII.

eleventh day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season in the twenty-sixth year, evidently of Pravarasena II's reign. It was written under the supervision of *Sēnāpati* Bappadēva.

Reference may now be made to a few interesting points concerning the present grant. While numerous copper-plate charters of the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vākāṭakas have been already reported, they all register fresh grants and there is so far not a single instance of the renewal of an earlier grant. In so far as Vākāṭaka epigraphy is concerned, ours is the only known charter aiming not at recording a fresh grant but renewing an earlier one. It is stated clearly that the land in question was re-granted by issuing a copper-plate charter only after ascertaining that it was already being enjoyed (i.e., was under continuous possession) by the donees (*purvva-bhujyamānika bhumiḥ*, line 12). There is no means to know as to who was the original grantor and why it became necessary to issue a fresh charter to renew the grant. However, the Kurud plates of the Śarabhapurīya chief Narēndra present an interesting parallel. We are told that the original charter written on palm-leaves (*tālapatra-śāsana*) was burnt in a household conflagration (*griha-dāha*) and that, after it was ascertained by the usual procedure that the gift village was under uninterrupted enjoyment by the donee's son, it was approved, i.e., renewed by Narēndra by issuing a copper-plate charter.[1] We have also some instances where the original copper-plate charter was burnt and had consequently to be renewed by later ruling chiefs.[2] The renewal of the charter in question also must have been necessitated by some similar circumstances.

The royal order regarding land-grants is generally addressed to state officials connected with the village and the administrative division in which it was situated in so far as the Vakāṭaka charters are concerned. But the order about the renewal of the grant in the present charter is addressed to the village as such[3] which is rather unique and the only one in Vākāṭaka epigraphy.[4]

The present inscription contains a season date. Season dates appear to have been fairly popular in the western Deccan in the early centuries of the Cl..istian era and most of the records in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra are dated with reference to seasons. Although in later times this system did not retain that much popularity, we have quite a few examples of season dates in Vākāṭaka inscriptions. The Washim plates of Vindhyasēna.[5] Dudia and Pandhurṇa plates of Pravarasena II,[6] the two

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1 *Tach-cha tāla-patra-śāsana[m*] griha-dāghē(hē) dagdham=ity=adhikaraṇ-āvadhāraṇayā prāk=prabhrity=avyavachchhēda-bhōgēn=āya[m*] grāmō bhujyata iti.* Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 265, text lines 7-9.

2 This is true of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman also. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-79 and plate.

3 *Shadgrāmē Lāṭakapalyām (read Lāṭakapallī) grāmō vaktavyaḥ*, lines 10-11.

4 The royal order about the grant made through the Paitan plates of Pravarasēna II is addressed to the village headed by the *brāhmaṇas*. See *CII*, Vol. V, p. 60, line 21.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 98, lines 28-29.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 46, line 28, p. 66, lines 28 and 30-31.

YAWATMAL PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II, YEAR 26
—PLATE I

i a

i b

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Māṇḍhal charters of Prithivīshēṇa II[1] and the recently discovered plates of Rudrasēna II[2] are all dated with reference to seasons. It is obvious that the season dates continued in use till at least the close of the Vākāṭaka period.

Another interesting feature is the retention of Prakritism in the date portion, specially in connection with season dates, in some of the Vākāṭaka records even though otherwise they are composed in Sanskrit. It has been, for instance, noticed in the Māṇḍhal plates or Prithivīshēṇa II[3] and in the still later Malhara plates of the Muṇḍa-putra king Adityarāja.[4] The present plates present yet another example of this feature. In the last two lines of the record we have *savva* for *saṁvat* and *gi* for *gri* (of *grishma*).

We have numerous records of Pravarasēna dated from the second to the twenty-seventh year of his reign.[5] But no record of his twenty-sixth year was known so far. Ours is, thus, the first record of the twenty-sixth year to be reported so far.

We learn from the Siwanī and the Wadgaon plates that Bappadēva was holding the office of *Senāpati* in the eighteenth and the twenty-fifth years respectively of the reign of Pravarasena II.[6] The present record shows that he continued to hold this office in the twenty-sixth year also.

Lastly, as regards the localities, the donated village Laṭakapalli may be identified with the modern village of Ladkhed about twenty miles east of Darwha on the Darwha-Yawatmal road in the Yawatmal District. The place has remains of some Hēmaḍpanti temples.[7] Shaḍgriśaka, after which the administrative unit in which the granted village was situated was named, cannot be identified.

TEXT[8]

First Plate[9] : First Side

1. -la-jala-[10] Murddh-ābhishiktānan=daś-āśvamedh-avabhritha-snatānam Bhāraśivanam=ma-
2. hāra(rā)ja-śrī-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya Gautamī-putrasya[11] Vakāṭakānām=mahāra-
3. ja-śrī-Rudrasēnasya sūnōr-atyanta-mahēśvarasya satyarjjava-karuṇya-śauryya-

1 Above, Vol. XLI, pp. 168-69 (lines 39-40) and p. 179 (lines 44-45).

2 They will shortly be published in this journal. The recently discovered Thalner plates of Harishēna also have season date. See V.V. Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, *i*, Nagpur 1982, lines 25-26.

3 Above, Vol. XLI, pp. 168-69, lines 39-40 and p. 179, lines 44-45

4 *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1975, p. 17, line 50.

5 *CII.*, Vol. V, Nos. 3-16, Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 53-56; *Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1978, pp. 150-57.

6 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 31, line 35, p. 56, line 42.

7 *Arch. Surv. of India, Western Circle-Annual Report, 1902.*

8 From the original plates.

9 Actually this is the second plate of the original grant.

10 Read-*thy-āmala-jala*°-

11 In other plates of Pravarasena, we generally have *Gautamī-putrasya-putrasya*

4. vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhātmya-dhīmatva-pātra-gata-bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nai-
5. rmva(rmma)ly-ādibhir-guṇais=samupētasya varsha-śatam-abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-pu-
6. tra-pautra(trī)ṇaḥ Yudhisṭhira-vṛittēr=Vvākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī Pṛithivi(vī)shēṇasya sūnōḥ

First Plate : Second Side

7. bhagavataś=Chakrapa(pā)ṇēḥ=prasād-ōpārjjita-śrī-samudayasya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudra-
8. sēnasya sūṇē(nō)r=mmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvati(tī)guptāyām=utpa-
9. na(nna)sya Śambhōḥ=prasāda-dhṛiti(ta)-Kārttayugasya Vākāṭakānām-parama-māhēśvara-ma-
10. hārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanāt Shaḍgriśakē Lāṭakapalyām grāmō[1]
11. vaktavyaḥ[2] [|*]atr-āsmābhiḥ Taitti(ttī)riya-Vatsa-sagōtra-Indrāryya-Svāmidēva(vā)bhyā(bhyaṁ)
12. pūrvva-bhujyamānikā bhūmir-nnivēśana-dvayañ=cha bhūyō=pyasmābhi[3][ḥ*] tāmra-śāsa[4]

Second Plate[5]

13. [6]-dara-karaṇē atit-ānēka-rāja-dattā(tta)-sañchintana-paripālana-kṛita-punyā(ṇy=ā)nukīrtta-
14. na[7] kīrttayāmaḥ [|*] Vyāsa-gītau ch-ātra ślōkau pramāṇa(ṇī)karttavyau [|*] Sva-dattām-pa-
15. ra-dattāṁ vvā(vā) yō harēdyō(ta) vai[8] vasundharā[m*] | gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya hantur=hara-
16. ti dushshṛi(shkṛi)ta[m*] || [1*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*]
17. āchchhēttā ch-āmumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t*] [|| 2*] savva[9] 20[+*]6
18. gi pa 4 diva 10[+*]1 Sēnāpatau Bāppadēvē[na] likhitaṁ (tam) ||

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1 Read °*Lāṭakapalli-grāmō*°

2 The address to the whole village met with here is not found in Vākāṭaka records.

3 As the word *asmābhiḥ* has already come in line 11 above, it is redundant here.

4 The remaining two letters of this word which were obviously engraved on the missing third plate were in all probability, *nēna*.

5 This was the last, probably the fourth plate, of the original charter.

6 The missing first two letters of this expression must have been *dharmmā*.

7 Read-°*kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrttana-parihārāya na*°.

8 This letter in redunndant.

9 Prakritism in *Savva* (for *Saṁva*) in this line and *gi* (for *grī*) in the next line is met with in other records also.

ii

K. V. Ramesh

No. 4—KĀṬLAPAṚṚU GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA

(*3 Plates*)

K.V. Ramesh and M.D. Sampath, Mysore.

This set of copper-plates edited here for the first time was received from Sri B.V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, Andhra Pradesh in 1938. This is reported as No. A 3 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1938-39. This set consists of five thick copper-plates, each measuring 23 cms in length and 12 cms in width. The sheets are held together by a ring about 14 cms in diameter passing through a ring-hole 1.7 cms in diameter near the left margin on each plate. The ends of the ring are joined to the sockets of a receptacle worked like a full blown lotus spread along the ring at the bottom of a circular seal about 9 cms in diameter and 1 cm. thick. The seal bears in high relief the figure of a standing boar facing the proper left at the top with the sun and cresent in its front, the legend '*Śrī Tribhuvanankuśa*' in Chaḷukyan characters below it and below the legend a small goad in the horizontal position. The bottom is occupied by the full blown petals of an expanded lotus. The plates with the ring and seal weigh 3,040 gms. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the writing which is incised deeply on the inner sides of the first and the last plates and on both sides of the rest. The plates are numbered by means of strokes incised across their thickness but inversely beginning with the fifth plate and ending with the first.

The text contains 72 lines equally distributed on the eight sides which bear writing.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannaḍa script popularly in use during the Eastern Chāḷukyan period and, on palaeographical grounds, are assignable to the latter half of the ninth century. The initial vowels *a, ā, u, e, ē,* and *o* and final consonants *n* (line 16), *t* (line 21) and *m* (line 8) are found employed. The letter form for Dravidian *ṛ* (-°*paṛṛu*-lines 60, 62 and 63) and the *upadhmānīya* symbol are the same (*suyaśaḥ-praptaṁ*-line 26; *śuchiḥ-prajñō*-line 51; *daḥ-prabhuḥ*-line 52; *prāptaḥ-para*-line 53; and *vaṁśajaḥ-para*-line 69). Barring these regular features, the **palaeography** and **orthography** of this charter do not call for any special remarks. Suffice it to say that the plates bear witness to the high literacy of both the composer and the engraver.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskrit throughout with a mixture of verse and prose.

The charter was issued by the Eastern Chāḷukya king Vijayaditya III (844-92 A.D.) and records the grant of the village Kāṭlapaṛṛu in Veṅgi-sahasra-vishaya by the king to his brahmin general Rājāditya. The executor of the grant is Pāṇḍaraṅga. The charter is silent about the date of issue and merely contains the statement that the grant was given on the occasion of a solar-eclipse.

The record commences with an invocation to Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) followed by the usual introduction of the Chāḷukya family (lines 1-6). Then follows the genealogical narrative starting from Vijayāditya I and ending with the issuer of the charter (verses 2-16; lines 7-25). Thereafter the reigning king is eulogised in seven verses (verses 17-23; lines 25-37). Then follows the description of the family of the donee in twelve verses (verses 24-35; lines 38-53). The details of the grant are next enumerated in lines 53-64. Lines 64-72 contain the imprecatory portion.

A point of interest in the genealogical account given in the present charter is the reference in verses 1-2 (lines 5-8) to the first ruler of the dynasty (Kubja)-Vishṇuvarddhana as the younger brother of Vijayāditya Vallabha, who was famous as Satyāśraya. It is a well-known historical fact that Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhana was the younger brother of the famous Pulakēśin II, who is thus for the first time given the name of Vijayāditya in this record. The name of Vijayāditya for Pulkēśin II does not go unsubstantiated by available historical information. We know only too well that the Eastern Chāḷukyan rulers had alternate coronation names Vijayāditya and Vishṇuvarddhana. Some of the records of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa contain the statement that Chalukya-Chāḷukya rulers were endowed with the special coronation names of Vishṇuvardhana and Vijayāditya (*Vishṇuvarddhana-Vijayādity-ādi-visēsha nāmnāṁ*)[1]. In the light of this information, we may work out the following concordance of early Chalukya names. According to the Eastern Chāḷukyan story of the origin of the Chalukya family, Vijayāditya, prompted by the desire for conquest, left the throne at Ayōdhyā, marched against Dakshiṇāpatha and was killed in a fateful encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava.The widowed queen took refuge at Muḍivēmu and gave birth to a son who was given the name Vishṇuvarddhana.

After coming of age, he fought against Trilōchana-Pallava, defeated him and married his daughter Uttamadāni. After vanquishing many rulers including the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas, he became the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha. To him was born a son named Vijayāditya, whose son was Pulakēśi-vallabha, none other than Pulakēśi I. Armed with this information, we arrive at the following concordance :

Proper name	*Coronation name*
Jayasiṁha	Vishṇuvarddhana
Raṇarāga	Vijayāditya
Pulakēśi I	Vishṇuvarddhana
Kīrttivarman	Vijayāditya
Maṅgalēśa	Vishṇuvarddhana
Pulakēśi II	Vijayāditya

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 11 ; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

It becomes apparent from the above concordance that the naming of Pulakeśin II as Vijayāditya in the charter under study is based on sound family traditions.

In the present epigraph, Vishṇuvarddhana, the father of Vijayāditya II, is said to have suppressed Bali. He is compared to god Vishṇu who, in his Vāmana incarnation, did suppress the king Bali of the Purāṇas.

Vishṇubhupas-tatō-jāto Vishṇuvad-Bali-marddhanaḥ

This victory of Vishṇuvarddhana cannot but remind us of the defeat of one of the Bāṇa kings, claiming descent from king Bali, received at the hands of the former. The senior contemporary Bāṇa ruler of Vishṇuvarddhana (c. 770-808 A.D.) was Jaya Nandivaraman[1] and the junior contemporary was Bāṇa Vijayāditya I, who succeeded Nandivarman in c. 793 A.D. This Vijayāditya is known to have ruled upto 845 A.D.[2] In the Udayēndiram plates it is stated that the early members of the Bāṇa family ruled over a tract of land called *Andhrat-pathaḥ-paśchimataḥ-kshitiḥ* i.e., the country to the west of the road leading to Āndhra. This has been differently recorded as *vaḍuga-vaḷi-mēṟku* and *Vaḍugavaḷiyim-paḍuva* respectively in the Tamil and Kannaḍa inscriptions.[3] Bāṇa Vijayāditya I is described in the Udayēndiram plates as one who dispersed a number of opponents and before whom the enemy did remain in great fear.[4] This signifies the stiff opposition raised by the Bāṇa against his enemies. On the contrary, in the Chaḷukyan records, Vishṇuvarddhana is said to have inflicted defeat upon his Bāṇa adversary. This claim sounds tenable because the territory ruled by the Eastern Chaḷukyas lay adjacent to the ceded districts and Vaḍugavaḷi-12000 over which the Bāṇas had control.

Śīlakāmba, wife of Vishṇuvarddhana V, is described as the daugheter of Indrarāja and Paramakāmbā. This Indrarāja may be identified with his namesake who was appointed as a governor of Gujarāt and Mālwa by his elder brother Gōvinda III.[5] If the above identification is accepted, then it is possible to infer that Śīlakāmbā was a granddaughter of Nirupama-Dhruva who married Śīlamahādēvi, daughter of Vishṇuvarddhana IV of the Eastern Chaḷukya family. Śīlakāmbā appears to have been named after her grandmother, Śīlamahādevi, wife of Nirupama-Dhruva. The relationship of the two families is shown beow :

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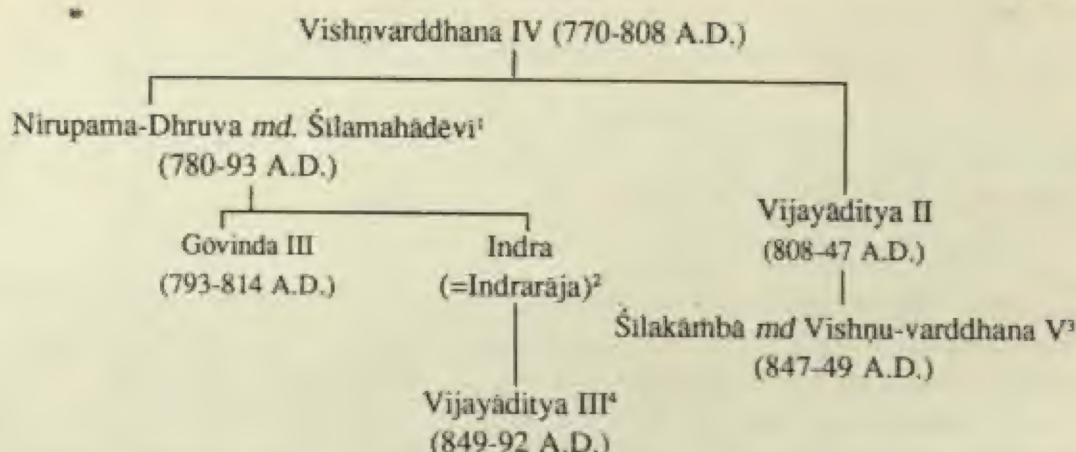
1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 222 and pp. 224-25.

2 M.D. Sampath, *Chittoor Through the Ages*, (1980), pp. 37-38; p. 47.

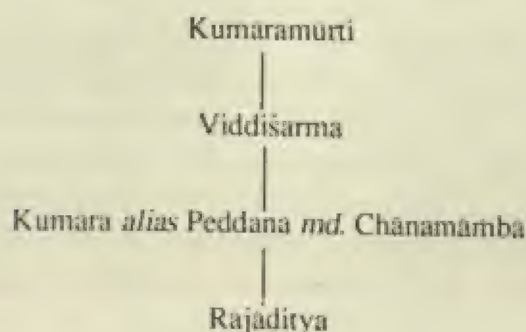
3 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

4 Above, Vol. III, p. 78.

5 G. Yazdani ; *The Early History of the Deccan* (1960), p. 272.



As stated above, the recipient of the gift registered in this charter was the brahmin general Rājāditya. We gather from a few more Eastern Chāḷukyan records that the kings of that dynasty were wont to bestow similar grants on their military chiefs. The donee of the present record Rājāditya was, obviously, a powerful military chief, who had enriched the coffers of his master with booties acquired from vanquished foes. He hailed from an illustrious family of Vēdic scholars who had also had close links with royal personages. The genealogical account of his family covering four generations is as follows :



Of these, Kumaramurti is stated to have developed differences with his erstwhile lord mentioned as Toṇḍaman and Kaḍuvetti and, as a result, migrated to Vēṅgi-dēśa, wherein he settled down at a village called Uṇḍi. There was born to him there his son Viddiśarma who begot as his son Kumara *alias* Peddana as a result of propitiating the god Mahāsēna. His son born of Chānamamba was our hero Rājāditya.

1 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 107.

2 *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, No. A 3, Text line 23.

3 *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 275, note 1.

4 *A.R.Ep.* 1938-39, No. A 3, Text lines 24-25.

i b

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The identity of the Toṇḍamān lord of Kumāramūrti is uncertain. He is also referred to as Kāḍuveṭṭi, an appellation borne by both the Pallavas and the Noḷambas. In the absence of any internal evidence, it is not possible to conclude as to the precise identity of the Kāḍuveṭṭi ruler.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the villages Kāṭūr and Vāyalūr which were being administered by Kumāramūrti under his Toṇḍamān lord, are to be identified with their namesakes in the Chingleput Taluk and District. This would perhaps suggest that the Toṇḍamān overlord of Kumāramūrti was only a Pallava and not a Noḷamba. The village Uṇḍi, where Kumāramurti settled down after his migration, is the same as Uṇḍiśvarpura or Uṇḍiśapura which was under the rule of the Uṇḍiraja kings during the thirteenth century A.D. On the modern map, this place may be identified with the present day Uṇḍi in Ganapavaram Taluk of Krishna District. The grant village Kāṭlaparru and the villages forming its boundaries viz., Vēlivrōlu, Elambaṛa-cheruvu, Virpaṛru, Rāvulapaṛru, Gōkulamaṇḍa, Bamminipaṛru, Bēdyama-puṇḍi and Vēlivrōlu cannot be identified on a modern map. However, it may be suggested that these villages are to be located somewhere in the East Godavari District.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-17, 20-37 : *Anushṭubh;* Verse 18 : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* Verse 19 : *Sragdharā* and Verse 38 : *Vasantatilaka*]

First Plate : Second Side

1 Ōm=namō Nārāyaṇā(ṇā)ya I Svasti I Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-

2 sa-gōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti-putrāṇāṁ Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām=Mātṛi[gaṇa]-

3 paripālitānāṁ Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-[pra]-

4 sāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-ārāti-[maṇḍalānā]-

5 m=Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-vapushāṁ Chālukyānām=abhūd =va[ṁ]-

6 śē Vijayāditya-vallabhaḥ [I*]Satyāśraya iti khyāta-nāmn=āpi bhuvi viśru-

7 taḥ I [I 1 II *]Tasy=ānujaḥ prabhuḥ ukhyātō Vishṇuvarddhana-saṁjñitaḥ I sa Durjjayaṁ samuchchāṭya Vēṅgī-ma-

8 ṇḍalam=āptavān I [I 2 II *]Ashṭau daśa cha varshāṇi kṛitv-āsau rājyam=uttamam [I *] yayau nāka-vadhū-

1 From inked impressions.

9 bhōga-vāṁchhayā marutāṁ padam | [| 3 ||*]Tat=putrō Jayasiṁh-ākhyō bhūri siṁha-parākra-

Second Plate : First Side

10 maḥ [|*]trayastriṁśat-samāḥ prithviṁ abhuktā(ktvā) chatur-aṁ[1] budhi | [| 4 || *] Vishṇu-rājas=tad-anujasy=Endrarā-

11 jasya nandanaḥ [|*]sa dhātrīn=nava varshāṇi pālayāmāsa līlayā | [| 5 ||*]Tasy=āpi tanayō

12 Maṁgi-yuvarāj-ākhya-bhūpatiḥ nyāyēn=āpālayad-dhatrīṁ vatsarān=paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ | [|| 6 ||*]

13 Tasmāj=jātaḥ sutaḥ śrīmān Jayasiṁhō mahīpatiḥ | sa trayōdaśa varshāṇi

14 rājyaṁ chakrē nṛipottamaḥ | [| 7 ||*] Dvaimāturas=tad-anujaḥ Kokkilimnā(r=nnā)ma viśrutaḥ [| *]

15 shaṇmāsamātram=ēv=āsau pālayitv-āmūchad=dharāṁ (rām) | [| 8 ||*] Tad-agrajas=tu vikhyā-

16 tō Vishṇvarddhana-nāmavān | [| *] sapta-triṁśat-samāḥ pri(pṛi)thviṁ rarakshа sakalām=imāṁ(mām) | [| 9 ||*]

17 Sūnus=tadīyō Vijayāditya-nāmā mahīpatiḥ | sō='pi pālitavān=u[rvvī]m=ashṭā-da-

18 śa cha vatsarān | [| 10 ||*] Vishṇu-bhūpas=tatō jātō Vishṇuvad=Bali-marddha (rdda)naḥ [|*] shaṭtriṁśa[d-va]-

Second Plate : Second Side

19 tsarān=dhātrīm=āpālya prayayau divaṁ(vam) | [| 11 ||*] Tasya sūnur=abhud-dhīmān=Vijayāditya-saṁjñi-

20 taḥ [|*]ashṭōttara-śata-khyāta-yuddha-labdha-jayōnnatiḥ | [| 12 ||*] Tāvaṁty=ēva punaḥ kṛitvā Śaṁbhō-

21 r=āyatanāny=api [| *] chatvāriṁśat-samāḥ pri(pṛi)thvīṁ pralīn-ārim=āpālayat | [| 13 ||*] Vishṇuvarddhana-

22 nām=ābhūt=tat-sūnur=vvijit-āhitaḥ [|| *] sō='pi varshaṁ sa-shaṇmāsaṁ bu[bhujē dha]raṇitalaṁ(lam) | [| 14 ||*]

23 jātā Paramakāṁbhāyāś=ch=Ēndrarājasya ch=ātmajā [| *] Śīlakāṁbā bhavānī=va-Mēnā-

24 Himavatōs=satī | [| 15 | *] Tasyāṁ cha Śīlakāmbā[yāṁ] jāta(taḥ tad-Vishṇu-bhūpatēḥ [| *] Vijayā-

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1 The anusvāra is written above the letter *bu*.

KĀTLAPAṞṞU GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA—PLATE II

ii a

ii b

iii a

25 ditya-nām-āṁkaḥ sūnu[r-ā-vā]rddhi-bhupatiḥ | [| 16 ||*] Yēn=aikēn=aiva khaḍgēna chatur-digma(ṅma)ṇḍa-

26 l-ādhipān [| *] Vijitya suyaśaḥ=prāptaṁ tach=chhirastha-pada-dvayaḥ | [| 17 ||*] yasmin=pati bhuvaṁ pu-

27 rātana-nṛip-āchāra-śrutau kautukaṁ lōkō=yaṁ tyajati sphuṭam-Manu-munēr= ddharmm-ō-

Third Plate : First Side

28 padēśō-'py-ayaṁ [|*] yasy=āchāra-path-aikadēśa iva yat-kīrttēs-samastaṁ jagad=vēśmatvaṁ

29 gamitaṁ sa chāru-Vijayādityō vibhāty=uttamaḥ | [| 18 ||*] Ā-sētō Rāma-mukta-pravara-

30 kapi-bal-ābaddha-Śailēndra-bṛiṁdād=ā-Kailāsāch=cha Pārvvaty-avachita-sumanōramya-

31 vṛikshānta-sa(sā)nōr=ā-tuṁgāch=ch=āsta-śailād=uḍu-kusuma-chayād=ā-punaś= ch=ōdayādrē-

32 r=yyāvantō madhya-va[r]tti-kshitipati-nikarāt=tair=nnutō yō vibhāti | [| 19 ||*] Yasya

33 pratāpa-santāpa-khidyamān-āri-bhūmipāḥ [| *] pāda-chchhāyān=na muñchanti dvi-

34 pāntara-samāgatāḥ | [| 20 ||*] Yasy-aiv=ājñāmayan tējō jagad-antaḥ-purē bhramad-durjja-

35 n-ōchchēdanāy=ālaṁ sōdhanā-dīpikāyatē | [| 21 ||*] Yat-prasāda-tarōr=aindram= apakva-phala-

36 vat=padaṁ [| *] yasya krōdh-ānalasy=āpi vahnir=aurvvaḥ kaṇāyatē | [| 22 ||*] Yan-mahatvaṁ samuddiśya

Third Plate : Second Side

37 Mērus=triṇalavāyatē [| *] yasy=aiv=āgādha-gāṁbhīryyaṁ jānudaghnāyat ='ēmbudhiḥ | [| 23 ||*] Ēvaṁ-

38 sthitē | Āsīt=prāvachana-khyāta-vipra-vaṁśa-kulōttamaḥ [| *] Kāṭūru-Vāyulūr-ākhya-

39 grāma-dvaya-patiḥ prabhuḥ | [| 24 ||*]Tatr-āśēsha-dēś-aika-nāyakō guṇa(ṇa)-lāḷitaḥ [| *]Kumāra-

40 mûrtti-nâm-âmka[ḥ *] śrîmân=bhûri-yaśô-dhanaḥ | [| 25 || *] Jaya-mân-ôddhṛitam hastaṁ bhûpatēs=Toṁḍa-

41 māninaḥ [| *]n=ôddharāmy=adya tan=nûnaṁ Kāḍuveṭṭi-mahiśa tē | [| 26 || *]Ity= uktvā saṁpari-

42 tyajya dēśaṁ māna-dhan-ānvitaḥ [| *] Vēṁgi-dēśaṁ praviśy=asāv=Uṇḍy-ākhya-grāma-

43 m=āyayau | [| 27 || *] Tatra sthitvā sa tanayaṁ=lēbhē dvija-kul-ōttamaṁ [| *] Viddi-śarmma-ākhyam=anaghaṁ

44 khyātaṁ saty-ābhimāninaṁ(nam) | [| 28 || *] Sō='py=ārādhya Mahāsēnaṁ chirāy=ājijanat= sutaṁ [| *]Kumā-

45 raḥ=Peddanaś=ch=ēti nāma-dvaya-samanvitaṁ(tam) | [| 29|| *] Tasmāt=tu Chānamāṁbāyāṁ sūnur-jjā-

Fourth Plate : First Side

46 tō mahāyaśāḥ [| *] Rājāditya iti khyātō rājiva-sama-lōchanaḥ | [| 30 || *] Dus-sādhyān=sādhayi-

47 tv-āriṅ svasy=aiv-aik-āsi-dhārayā [| *] dravyāṇy=āhṛitya bhūyāṁsi svāminē yaḥ=pra-

48 yachchhati | [| 31 || *] Satya-śil-ābhimān-ōru-tyāga-śauryy=ādibhir=gguṇaiḥ [| *]yēna tulyō

49 na lōke='sti n=āsin=na cha bhavishyati | [| 32 || *] yasya jātas=suta[ḥ *] khyātaḥ Peddan-ākhyō dvi-

50 j-ādhipaḥ [| *] svāmi-bhakti-vrata[ḥ *] śrimān dig-vikirṇṇa-mahā-yaśāḥ | [| 33 || *] Dhiraś=śū

51 raś=śuchiḥ=prājñō dēv-ādibhyō=nṛiṇaḥ paṭuḥ [| *] kulānny=uddhṛitavān sarvvān

52 sv=āśritābhayadaḥ=prabhuḥ | [| 34 || *] Ēvaṁ-bhūtaṁ sutaṁ labdhvā Rājādityas=sa uttama[ṁ] [| *]

53 prāptaḥ=paramam=ānaṁdaṁ(da)m=aihik-āmutrika-kshamam | [| 35 || *] tatra sa Vijayāditya-rājā-

54 dhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramabrahmaṇya=sārvabhaumō nirvvar-ttit-ā-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

55 śēsha-jagad-vyāpārō bhūtvā dharmm-aika-nishṭha[ḥ *]san prēm-ānurakta-chitta-tayā a-

56 sādhāraṇa-karuṇayā cha tasmai Rājāditya-dvij-ōttamāya Sūryya-grahaṇa-nimi-

KĀṬLAPARRU GRANT OF VIJAYADITYA — PLATE III

iii b

iv a

iv b

v

57 ttē Kāṭlapaṟṟu-nāma-grāmam sarvva-kara-parihārēṇa agrahāram prādāt [I *]

58 Datvā cha vēṁgi-sahasra-grāma-dēśa-rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān kuṭumbina ittham=ā-

59 jñāpayati viditam=astu vō='samābhir=Vvēṁgi-sahasr-ākhya vishayē

60 Rājāditya=āsmai Kāṭlapaṟṟu-grāmas=sarvva-kara-parihāreṇ-āgra-

61 hārō datta iti [I *] Asya grāmasy=āvadhayaḥ pūrvvataḥ Vēlivrōluḥ sīmā I

62 āgnēyataḥ Elaṁbaṟa-cheruvu I dakshiṇataḥ Vi[r]ppaṟṟu I Naiṟṟityaṁ Vi[r]ppaṟṟu-grā-

63 ma-kshētraṁ I paśchimataḥ [Ra]vulapaṟṟu I vāyavyataḥ [Gō]gūlamaṇḍa I uttarataḥ

Fifth Plate : First Side

64 Bamminipaṟṟu Bedyama-puṇḍi I īśānyan=diśi Vēlivrōli-kshētraṁ I Ētad-ashṭadik-si-

65 ma-madhyavartti-grāmaḥ I Asy=ōpari na kēnachid =bādhā karttavyā I yaḥ karōti sa paṁ-

66 cha=mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati I Bhagavatā Vyāsēn=āpy=uktaṁ I Bahubhir=vvasu-

67 dhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā I yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā

68 phalam I [I 36 II*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta Vasundharām I shashṭir-vvarsha-saha-

69 srāṇi vishṭāyaṁ jāyatē krimiḥ I [I 37 II*] Mad-vaṁśa jāḥ=para-mahīpati-vaṁśajāś=cha

70 pāpād=apēta-manasō bhuvi bhāvi-bhūpāḥ I [yē] pālayanti mama dharmmam=imaṁ sa-

71 mastan=tēshām=mayā virachitō='ṁjalir=ēsha-mūrddhni I [I 38 II*] Ājñaptir=asya Pāṇḍarāṁgaḥ I Śi-

72 vam=astu I śāntir=astu II

No. 5—BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHṆU

(2 Plates)

P.V. Parabrahma Sastry, Hyderabad

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a set of five copper-plates discovered in Rājugāripālem, a hamlet of Babbēpalli village in the Addanki Taluk, Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh, while a certain Sunkara Govardhana Rao was digging the land at a depth of one foot in S. No. 444. The set was received as treasure trove in the State Department of Archaeology and Musems, Hyderabad, through Sri T.V. Reddaiah, the Tahsildar of Addanki Taluk in March, 1980. I edit the record with the kind permission of Dr. V.V. Krishna Sastry, the present Director of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh to whom I remain grateful.

The set consists of five copper-plates held together by a copper ring of diameter 7 cm and thickness 0.5 cm. The ends of the ring are soldered to a round seal of 3.5 cm. diameter. By the time the set reached the office, the ring was broken at the soldered part below the seal probably due to some accidental pressure on the ring. All the five plates are uniform in size with unraised rims. The average measurements of the plates are 17 cm length, 5 cm width, and 0.1 cm thickness and their weight with the ring is 477 grams. Barring the first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate which carry no writing, the remaining eight sides contain four lines of writing each and the full text is thus written in 32 lines. The right top corner of the first plate is slightly cut probably while digging though, fortunately, the damage is negligible as only the last letter in the first line is lost. The writing on the whole is fairly legible and in a state of good preservation.

The seal contains the usual Pallava emblem of a recumbent bull facing proper right embossed in relief. Above and below the figure, the portions probably containing the legend seem to have been deliberately chipped off. An interesting feature noticed on the seal is that the elevated parts of the bull seem to be silver coated. It is difficult to explain this uncommon feature. The destruction of the legend portion and some other features of the record give rise to the suspicion that the charter is perhaps a re-written document. This matter will be discussed in the sequel.

This charter was issued by the Pallava king Kumāravishṇuvarman from the capital town Kāñchī, to register the gift of some land in the village Kaligoṇḍa in Karma-rāshṭra to the *brāhmaṇa* named Isara-sarman (Iśvara-śarman) in the king's thirteenth regnal year.

The **characters** of the record belong to the conventional Vengi type of letters. They resemble the letters of the Pikira grant[1] of another early Pallava king Siṁhavarman and the Śāsanakota plates[2] of the Western Gaṅga king Madhavavarman I. They do not seem to be so archaic as in the Oṁgoḍu set-I[3] of Śivaskandavarman. The vowels *a* (line 21), *ā* (lines 18 and 31), *i* (lines 10 and 18), *u* (lines 14 and 16) and *e* (lines 13,14 and 17) and the final consonants *n* (lines 10 and 32) and *m* (line 25) are found employed. The bottom of the letter *da* is generally elongated downwards. The central horizontal of the letter *śa*, unlike in the Pikira and Sakrepaṭna plates,[4] touches the side-verticals. The left vertical of *b* is open. The final *m* in line 25 is represented by a slant semi-circle, unlike the small *m* in the Pikira and other records of that period. These last three features pertain to the later part of the fifth century A.D. Medial long *u* of *bhu* in line 21 is a continuation of the short *u*, unlike a stroke in its middle as in Pikira and Sakrepaṭna plates. This is also a later development. Of the **orthographical** features, the use of *upadhmāniya* in line 25, the use of class nasals for *anusvāras* and doubling of the consonants following *repha* are noticed. Rules of *sandhi* are not observed in several instances.

Palaeographically the present plates can be roughly assigned to the later part of the fifth century A.D. It also seems to be later than the Oṁgoḍu set-I and does not differ much with the available single plate of the Darśi[5] set which, like the present grant, was issued by a great-grandson of Virakurchavarman.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, leaving the five imprecatory verses, it is in prose composed in the usual phraseology found in the Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas. There are several mistakes in grammar and syntax, for which the composer as well as the scribe seem to be responsible. The fifth verse in lines 27 and 28, though in *anushṭubh*, is too faulty to be corrected and its meaning is also not clear.

The phraseology of the record, although faulty and incomplete, presupposes some standardised forms and phrases found in other Sanskrit charters of the early Pallavas applying the same phrases indiscriminately to different members without any significance. A deliberate attempt at Sanskritisation of some Telugu names of the boundary places is another feature to be noticed in the record.

The charter was issued from the capital Kañchipura by the Pallava king *mahārāja śrī* Kumaravishṇuvarman of Bhāradvāja-gotra who is described as the son of *mahārāja śrī* Skandamulavarman, grandson of *mahārāja śrī* Karaḷavarman and great-grandson of *mahārāja śrī* Virakorchavarman. It records the gift of sixty-four *nivartanas* of land near the village Kaligoṇḍa in Karma-rashṭra to certain Iśvara-śarman of Kaśyapa-gotra.

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1 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 159 ff. and plates.
2 *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 238 ff. and plates.
3 *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 250 ff. and plates.
4 *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, pp. 99 ff. and plates.
5 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 397-98 and plate.

The date of the record is the fifth day in the bright fortnight of the *maha-Karttika* month in the prosperous thirteenth regnal year of the king, the *nakshatra* being Viśakha and the week-day Thursday.

The boundaries of the gift land are given in three different specifications. It seems, therefore, that the lands were situated at three places (*trai-bhūmyāṁ* -l. 17) near the village Kaligoṇḍa. The work *trai-bhūmyāṁ* may also mean the meeting place of the boundaries of three villages. But here three *sukshētras* or three fertile fields are separately specified.[1]

This inscription sheds welcome light on more than one aspect of the history of the Early Pallvas who flourished in southern Āndhra in the post-Ikshvāku period. The charter was issued from the capital Kāñchī indicating that the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters of the Guntur-Nellore region had their capital at Kāñchī like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit charters. Being earlier than the Vesanta grant of Siṁhavarman II[2] and the Chendaluru grant of Kumāravishṇu III[3] the other two Sanskrit charters which were issued from Kāñchīpra, this record confirms that these rulers were in possession of Kāñchī from the time of Kumāravishnu, the donor of the present charter. The statement of the Vēlūrpāḷayam inscription[4] that one descendant of Vīrakūrcha named Kumāravishṇu captured Kāñchī (*gṛihīta-Kāñchī-nagaraḥ*) is also confirmed by the present record and we can say that he was really in possessin of that town.

Karāḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman till now find mention only in the long list of the Vāyalūr epigraph[5] of Rājasiṁha where their names occur between Vīrakurcha I and Vīrakūrcha II. Thus we can reasonably identify Vīrakūrcha of the present record with Vīrakūrcha I of the Vāyalūr epigraph. Again, the historicity of the Karāḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Vīrakūrchavarman is also established by this record of Kumāravishṇuvarman. He was a member of the fourth generation from Vīrakūrcha, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. We know from the Chendalūru plates one Kumāravishṇu, son of Skandavarman and another Kumāravishṇu, son of Buddhavarman. Kumāravishṇu of the present charter, being the son of Skandamūlavarman, cannot be identified with either of those two. A third Kumāravishṇu is

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1. The learned editor has somewhat misunderstood the details of grant as furnished in lines 10-17. The text in lines 10-11 must be read with only one correction as *Karma-rāshtra-Kaligoṇḍa-nāma-Viri-grāma-pathē (thaḥ) pūrvvataḥ*, which would mean that one of the three pieces of lands donated lay to the east of the road connecting the two villages Kaligoṇḍa and Virigrāma in Karma-rāshṭra. The other three boundaries of this piece of arable land as also the four boundaries of the other two pieces of arable lands have been enumerated in the sequel. In the light of this *trai-bhūmyāṁ chaushashṭi nivarttanāni* should be taken to mean a total of 64 *nivarttanas* drawn from the three different arable lands and, hence, Dr. Sastri's suggestion that *trai-bhūmyāṁ* may mean the meeting place of the boundaries of the three villages does not hold water-(Ed.).

2. N. Ramesan, *Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

3. Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.

4. *SII.*, Vol. II, p. 508.

5. Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 147.

stated to be the great-grandfather of Vijayaskandavarman, the donor of the Ōmgōḍu set-I[1] As his father's name is not stated in that record and because the Vāyalūr list mentions only two kings bearing the name Kumāravishṇu, it is generally believed that Kumāravishṇu of the Ōmgōḍu set-I is identical with the first Kumāravishṇu, son of Skandavarman of the Chendalūru plates. But as the present record confirms the historicity of Skandamulavarman of the Vāyalūr list which distinguishes him from Skandavarman, the above identity of Kumāravishṇu of Ōmgōḍu set-I, with his first namesake of the Chendalūru plates, cannot be considered. In support of this view, Kumāravishṇu of Ōmgōḍu set-I is stated to have performed the *aśvamēdha* sacrifice, whereas Kumāravishṇu of the Chendaluru plates is not credited with that. Further, the Ōmgōḍu set-I, issued in the 33rd regnal year of the great-grandson of Kumāravishṇu, in its palaeography and phraseology, is considered to be earlier than the Chendalūru plates issued in the 2nd regnal year of the grandson of his namesake. So they cannot be identified with each other. Even to identify him with Kumāravishṇu of the present record, a third Kumāravishṇu is to be added to the Vāyalūr list. But in view of the imperfect nature of that list this adjustment need not be considered to be a serious mistake. Till further evidence comes forth Kumāravishṇu of this charter can be taken to be his namesake of the Ōmgōḍu set-I. About his performing of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, he might have done it later after issuing this grant. This is an attempt to find a place for him among the early members, because he happens to be the third descendant of Vīrakūrcha I.

The genealogical table of the early Pallavas cannot be accurately constructed, for the reason that all the three predecessors of the donor of each charter cannot be assumed to have ruled at Kāñchī in their own right. In other words how many collateral lines seized the throne of Kāñchī during the long period extending about three centuries from c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D. is not precisely known at present.

Among the officers to whom the royal order was entrusted for protection and honouring mention is made of *rāja-vallabhas, naiyōgikas, gō-pālas, vatsa-pālas* and *sañcharantakas. Rāja-vallabhas* were the king's favourites or superior officers and *naiyōgikas* were the administrative officers of the divisions. These officers were supposed to exempt the donee from taxes. *Gō-pālas* and *vatsa-pālas* were the supervisors respectively of cows and calves. The gift land was to be excluded from grazing the king's cattle. *Sañcharantakas* were the same as *śāsana-sañcharantakas* who were the messengers employed to acquaint the people every now and then about the royal orders.

The grant was issued on the fifth day (*pañchamī*) of the bright fortnight of *mahā-Kārttika-māsa* in the prosperous and victorious thirteenth regnal year, the *nakshatra* being Viśākhā and the week-day Guruvāra *i.e.*, Thursday.

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1 Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

We notice an early reference to the method of dating in the month of two fortnights in the Sanskrit insrciption of Ehavala Śrī found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[1] dated on the *ēkādaśi* day of the bright fortnight of the Māgha-māsa in his 11th regnal year i.e., round about 300 A.D. Still earlier, we find the mention of the month Kārttika and the day Pūrṇimā in the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadata.[2] The Penugoṇḍa plates of Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman[3] datable to c. 400 A.D. give the date in the same method and add the *nakshatra* Bhādrapada also. The Kopparam plates[4] of Pulakēśin II of 631 A.D. mention Bṛihaspativāra (Thursday). In the Tippalūru epigraph[5] of the Rēnāṭi Chōḍa king Puṇyakumāra of the same period we find mention of both the *nakshatra*, Punaru-pushya and the week-day, Sōmavāra. It mentions the Hōra of Bṛihaspati also. The present record is about two centuries earlier than the said records of Pulakēśin II and Puṇyakumāra. On the basis of the mention of the said particulars alone the record cannot be assigned to a later date; for, this system was in vogue even from the Ikshvāku period and the other method of dating in seasons continued even in the 8th century A.D. In this record under review which is assignable to sometime in the middle of the fifth century A.D., we have an early epigraphical reference to a week-day.

The month of the date is stated as Mahā-Kārttika-māsa. We come across a similar term in Telugu in connection with the month Kārttika, namely Koṇḍa-Kārttika in the Tippalūru epigraph of Puṇyakumāra, the Rēnāṭi Chōḍa king referred to above. The editors of the record did not enlighten us about its significance. The word *koṇḍa* according to the Telugu lexicon, *Sūryarāyāndhra-nighaṇṭuvu* means 'great', i.e., *mahat* in Sanskrit. According to the twelve year cycle of the Jupiter, the year commences on the day when that planet after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular constellation after which the year is named. But in our present record the month is stated to be Mahā-Kārttika-māsa, and not the year. So the reckoning in the record cannot be considered to be of the Jovian cycle. Some other astronomical or religious significance is perhaps implied by prefixing *Mahā* before the month name Kārttika.[6]

A close examination of the charter gives rise to the doubt whether it is a re-written copy of an earlier original one for the following reasons :

1 Above, vol. XXXIII, p. 148.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 83.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 146.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 258 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 232-33.

6 It is probable that if two *Saṁkrāntis* occur in a lunar month it may be considered as a great feature and the name of that month is prefixed with *Mahā*. In the present case it is said that Viśākhā-nakshatra coincided with *pañchamī* of the bright fortnight. The preceding *Saṁkrānti* in Kārttika would be Tulā which commences when the Sun enters the third quarter of Chitrā-nakshatra. This *nakshatra* preceded Viśākhā just by three days. That being very near to Amāvāsyā, it is likely that the Sun and Moon were in conjunction and Tulā-saṁkrānti might have taken place on *pratipat* or *dvitīyā* of this Kārttika.The next Vṛiśchika-saṁkrānti might have occurred on some day close to Amāvāsyā in the Viśākhā-nakshatra fourth quarter, when again Sun and Moon were in conjunction, in the *Amānta* system. Such occurrence of two *saṁkrāntis* might have been the reason for the month being auspicious and called Mahā-Kārttika.

1. The record begins with the invocation *Jitaṁ bhagavatā* which is not found in the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, the early Sanskrit charter of these kings. This phrase in those days was used to invoke the Buddha as well as Vishṇu. The Tummalagūḍem set-I of the Vishṇukuṇḍi king Gōvindavarman[1] begins with a verse invoking the Lord Buddha, of which this phrase forms the commencement. Similarly the Śāsanakōṭa copper-plate charter of Gaṅga Mādhavavarman I begins with the invocation to God Vishṇu is a verse commencing with this phrase. All the Sanskrit records of these Pallavas except the Ōṁgōḍu set-I begin with this phrase. This charter, therefore, seems to be later than the Ōṁgōḍu set-I.

2. We find in all their Sanskrit records excluding the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, a systematised phraseology eulogising the kings mentioned in them. The present grant in that regard finds comparison with all those records and differs with the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, where the eulogy is in the initial stage. The phraseology of this charter is therefore assignable to a period later than that of the Ōṁgōḍu set-I.

3. Certain Sanskrit words indicating the boundaries of the gift lands exhibit an attempted unnatural Sanskritisation: e.g., a small colony of lime manufacturers is named Chunōprālu, probably Sunnapāḍu in Telugu; Enamadala, the village name is taken as two components Enumu '(buffalo) and tala (head) in Telugu and Sanskritised as Mahishaśiragrāma; an old tank, that is Pāta-cheruvu, in Telugu, is Sanskritised as *Vṛiddha-taṭāka;* black tank i.e. Nalla-cheruvu in Telugu is Sanskritised as *Kaṁsāri-taṭāka.* After translating the Telugu word *nalla* into Sanskrit *kṛishnna* (=black) and then applying the word Kṛishṇa to Vāsudēva and again twisting it to mean the enemy of Kaṁsa, the final Sanskrit form is given as Kaṁsāri-taṭāka.

4. The gift land measuring *chaushashṭi* (sixty-four) *nivartanas* was given in three units, all of them touching Sarp-ālaya or Sarpa-gṛiha, likely a temple for the serpent god, Nāga.

5. The donee is mentioned simply by his *gōtra* and name without any attirbutes with regard to his learning, etc., which qualified him to receive the gift.

6. The fifth verse following the imprecatory verses, although it exhibits Prakrit influence, is totally corrupt. The purport of the verse seems to be that a certain lord of Kāñchīpura gave the gift to a *brāhmaṇa* out of devotion, and the Pallava kings should take it up for protection.

7. In regard to chronology, the donor Kumāravishṇu is the fourth member from Vīrakūrcha, the founder member of the family. This Vīrakūrcha cannot be the second one of that name, mentioned in the Vāyalūru epigraph of Rājasiṁha because Karāḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman, who are stated to be his son and grandson respectively, find mention before Vīrakūrcha II, in that list of kings of the Pallava family. Vīrakūrcha I, according to the accepted chronology, is assumed to have flourished in the last quarter of the third century

1 *Ep. Andhrica,* Vol. II, pp. 9 ff.

A.D. So his great-grandson, the donor of the present grant, is to be assigned to sometime before 400 A.D. We find in the Ōṁgōḍu set-I, one Kumāravishṇu whose great-grandson Vijayaskandavarman issued that charter in his 33rd regnal year. If we have to accept the regnal period of this ruler to be between 400 and 435 A.D. as assigned to him by scholars,[1] his great-grandfather Kumāravishṇu, who is taken by us to be the same as the donor of the grant under study, might have flourished at least sixty years before 435 A.D., the approximate date of the Ōṁgōḍu set-I. The present grant is thus to be assigned to sometime between 365 and 375 A.D., whereas in its present form it looks like a later record than the Ōṁgōḍu set-I. Palaeographically also this record resembles more the Pikira grant of Siṁhavarman III than the Ōṁgōḍu set-I. Therefore, we may not be unreasonable in supposing that this copper-plate set is a recomposed version of an earlier record probably written in a mixed dialect of Prakrit and Sanskrit.

That was the period when Sanskrit replaced Prakrit as inscriptional language. The early Pallavas who strove hard for the promotion of Vēdic-Purānic culture, established for the first time in coastal Āndhradēśa several *agrahāras* for learned *brāhmaṇas*, probably to counter the growing influence of Buddhism in that region. These Pallavas and the Śālaṅkāyanas, say from the beginning of the fifth century A.D., replaced Prakrit totally by Sanskrit in their documents. As part of spreading the Purānic cult, they might have called back some of their earlier Prakrit charters and re-issued them in Sanskrit version. In the present case, the heirs of the original donee might have approached the then ruler, also a Pallava, to re-issue the grant. Consequently some agent of the king may have executed the orders of the king, without changing the names of the original donor and donee.

The Darśi single plate,[2] which was also given by the great-grandson of Vīrakūrcha, either this Kumāravishṇu himself or another king, palaeographially resembles the charter under study. It also begins with *Jitaṁ-bhagavatā*. For the change of language from Prakrit to Sanskrit that record also might have been re-issued.These are not the only two records of this kind. The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry, while editing Ōṁgōḍu set-II[3] doubts the genuineness of that charter. Similarly, C.R. Krishnamacharlu while editing the Chura grant[4] not only expresses a similar doubt, but also says that it is difficult to know why some grants of these Pallavas are re-written. A more specific example in this regard we find in the Andhavaram plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman,[5] the Kaliṅga king of Māṭhara-gōtra, who explicitly states that he is re-issuing the charter which was originally issued by Āryaka Śakti-Bhaṭṭārakapāda who was none other than his own grandfather.

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1 *The Vākāṭaka Gupta Age*, p. 234 - Chapter on 'Early Pallavas' by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri; T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñchīpuram in Early South Indian History*, p. 33.

2 Above, Vol. I, pp. 397-98.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 252 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 137 ff.

5 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 176 and 231.

To conclude, it can be said reasonably that the present charter is a revised version in Sanskrit issued in about 460 A.D. This is composed by some ordinary *brāhmaṇa,* who was not well versed in Sanskrit. Its original version might have been issued sometime in the second half of the fourth century A.D. in Prakrit language with some Sanskrit verses and words. Even in its present form, this charter is a valuable record for the history of the early Pallavas. In the first place, it establishes the historicity of Karaḷavarman and Skandamūlavarman as son and grandson respectively of Vīrakūrchavarman, the founder member of the Pallava dynasty. Till now we know their names from the long list of the Vāyalūr epigraph only, without their mutual relationship. Secondly, like Śivaskandavarman of the Prakrit grants and Vishṇugōpa, the adversary of Samudragupta, Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the present grant was also having his capital at Kāñchī and his kingdom to its north. Thirdly, even if we take it to have been issued in its present shape sometime in the later half of the fifth century A.D., this is the earliest inscription to refer to a week-day in its date portion. About the *nakshatra,* we have it mentioned in the Penugonda plates of Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman of about of 400 A.D. which is earlier than the present charter.

Of the **Geographical** names mentioned in the record Kāñchī is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas. Karma-rāshṭra is the well-known capital town of the Pallavas and is the same as Kamma-rāshṭra or Kammana-rāshṭra. It finds mention in the Chendalūru, Ōṁgōdu set-II and Chura grants of the early Pallavas and some early records like the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśi II and the Chendalūru grant of Sarvalōkāśraya, the Eastern Chāḷukya king. Kammāka-raṭha of the Jaggayyapēṭa Prakrit inscription of Siri Vīrapurisadata[1], as pointed out by C.R.K. Charlu, also stands for Karma-rāshṭra. The modern Ongole, Addanki and Darsi Taluks of the Prakasam District and the Narasaraopet and Bapatla Taluks of the Guntur District are generally taken to have formed the ancient Karma-rāshṭra. It was called Kamma-nāḍu in the medieval inscriptions. The villages mentioned in the grant are Kaligoṇḍa, Vīrigrāma, Chuṇōprāḷu, Koṇḍamujunūru, Dōṇāvadi, Chuṇō(lū)prāḷu, Mahishaśira-grāma and Pullaḷuru. Of these villages, Koṇḍamujunūru is identifiable with the present village of Koṇḍamajulūru which lies to the east of the national highway between Chilakalūrupēṭa and Ongōle. It is a few kilometers to the south of Babbēpalli, the findspot of the plates. The village Mahishaśira is, obviously, a Sanskritized version of the Telugu name Enamadala (*enumu=mahisha* =buffalo; *tala = śiras* = head). The modern village Enamadala is a few kilometers to the north of Babbēpalli, also on the eastern side of the said highway. Dōṇāvadi may possibly be the present Drōṇādula, again a few miles south of Babbēpalli. The village Vīrigrāma might possibly be Vīripaṟu near Narasaraopet. Chuṇōprāḷu is, obviously, the Prakrit name of some place connected with lime manufacture. Kaligoṇḍa is not identifiable. The village name Pullaḷūru appears in the Chendalūru grant of Kumāravishṇu II as the

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1 *Lüder's List,* No. 1204.



residence of the donee. It also occurs in the Kaśakkuḍi plates of Nandivarman[1] where Mahēndravarman I is stated to have defeated the chief enemies who were interpreted by scholars as the Chalukyas. And they have also identified Puḷḷaḷuru with a village of that name near Kāñchī. But since there is another Puḷḷalūru near Kopparam, which Pulakēśi II is known to have conquered from the Pallavas, it is quite probable that Mahēndravarman I offered stiff resistance to check the advance of the enemy at this Puḷḷaḷuru. The recently discovered Duddukūru copper-plate charter (unpublished) issued by him and his Chezerla stone epigraph confirm that he attacked the Chalukya invader in these parts.

TEXT[2]

(Metres : Verses 1-5 : *Anushṭubh*)

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Jitam=bhagavatāt[3]=[|*]Kāñchī-purādhishṭhāna(nā)t=parama-brahmaṇyasya sva-bāhu-bal-a-

2 rjjit-ōrjjita-kshātra-tapo-nidher=vvidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyādasya mahārājasya

3 śrī-Vīrakōrchchavarmmaṇaḥ prapautrō='bhyutthita[4]-śakti-siddhi-saṁpana(nna)sya pratā[p]-o-

4 panata-rāja-maṇḍalasya vasudhā-tal-aika-vīrasya mahārājasya śrī Kara-

Second Plate : First Side

5 ḷavarmmaṇaḥ pautro deva-dvija-guru-vṛidhā(ddh-ā)pachāyinā[5] pravṛi[ddha*]-dharmma-sañchaya-

6 sya prajā-pāla[na*]-dakshasya lōka-pāla(lā)nāṁ pañchamasya lōka-pālanāṁ saty-ā-

7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-Skandamūlavarmmaṇaḥ putro bhagavat-pād-anu-

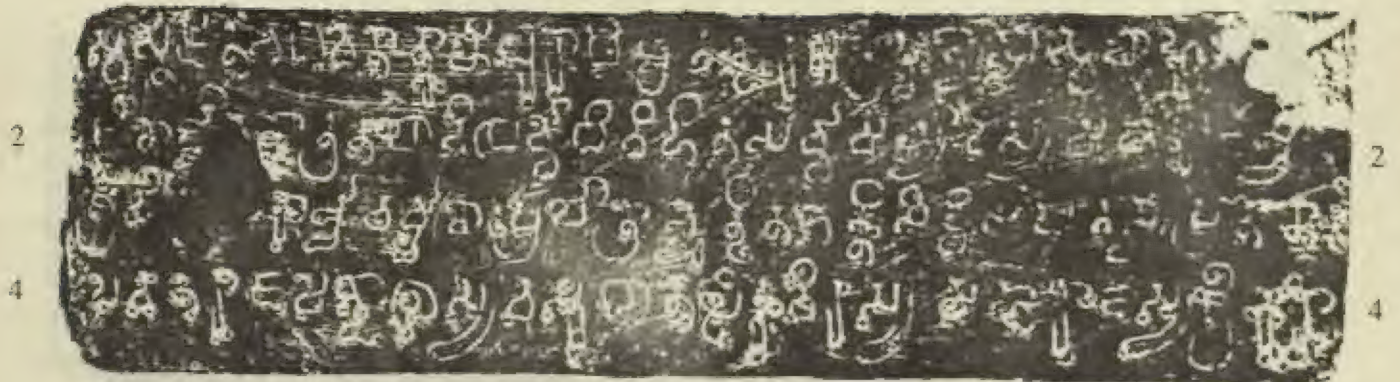
8 ddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭha(ṭṭa)raka-pāda-bhakta[ḥ*] parama-bhāgavato Bhāradvāja-sa-gō-

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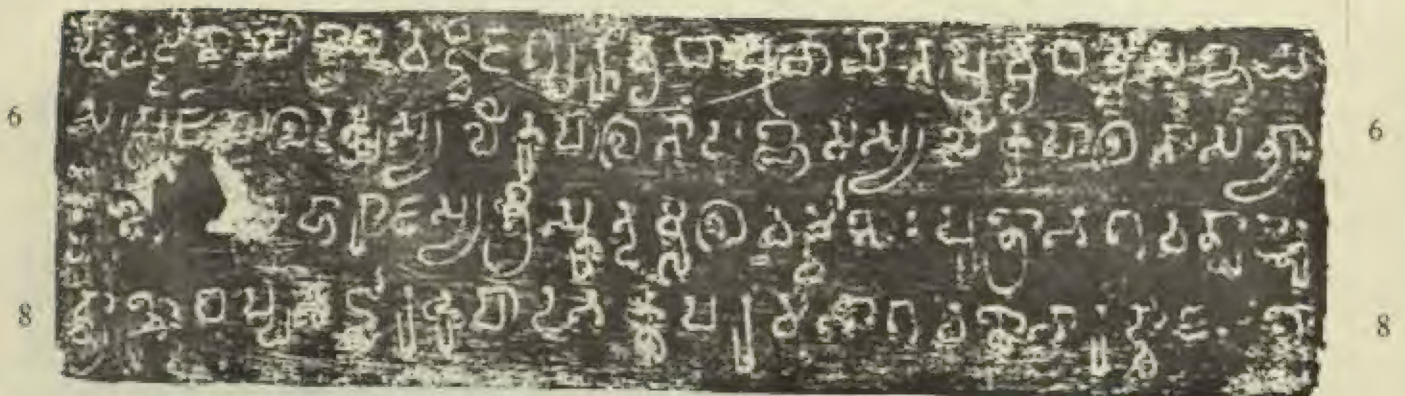
1 *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 348, v. 21.
2 From the plates and inked estampages.
3 Read *bhagavatā*
4 This occurs as *abhyuchchita* in Pikira, Sakrēpaṭna and other Sanskrit charters of these kings.
5 Read *vṛiddh-opachāyinaḥ*
6 Read *pālasya*.

BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHNU
—PLATE I

i



ii a



ii b

iii a

Second Plate : Second Side

9 tra(trō) yathāvad-āhṛid(t)-ānē[k-ā*]śvamēdhānāṁ Pallava(vā)nam(nāṁ) Pallava-śrī-mahārājasya[1]

10 śrīmān Kuma(mā)ravishṇuvarmma(mā) imam-artthama(m-ā)jñapayati tad=yathā Karmma-rāshṭrē Ka-

11 ligoṇḍa-nāma-grāma Virigrāma-patē(thaḥ) pūrvvataḥ Chuṇōprāḷu-grāma-sīnma (sīmna)

12 pu(u)ttarataḥ Koṇḍamujunūru-grāma patē(thaḥ) paśchimataḥ[2] Sarppāḷa[ya]-dakshiṇata

Third Plate : First Side

13 ēta[ch*]=chatur-avadhi-dakshiṇa-sukshētrē Dōṇavadi-grāma-sīnmaḥ(mnaḥ) paśchimataḥ Chuṇōḷu-

14 prāḷu-grāma-sīnmaḥ(mnaḥ) uttara[taḥ] sarppagṛihē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ vṛidha(ddha)-taṭāka-dakshiṇata ēta-

15 cha(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-dakshiṇa-pūrvvē sukshētrē sarppagṛihē(ha)-pūrvvataḥ Mahishaśira-gāmē(ma)-

16 sīnmaḥ(mnaḥ) dakshiṇata[ḥ*] Pullaḷūru-grāmē(ma)-sīnmaḥ(mnaḥ) paśchimata[ḥ*] Kaṁsāri-taṭāka[sya*] uttarataḥ[3]

Third Plate : Second Side

17 ēta cah(ch=cha)tur-avadhi-pūrvō(rvvō)ttarē sukshētrē trai-bhūmyā[ṁ] chaushashṭi nivarttanāni Kāśya(śya)-

18 pa-gōtrāya Isara-sarmmaṇ[ē][4] dattavān āyur-bala-puṇy-ārōgya-nimita(tta)ṁ | saṁ-

19 prā[tta*]s=tad-avagamya rā[java]llava(bha)- naiyōgika-gōpāla-vatsapāla-sañchara-

20 ntakā[ḥ*] pariha(hā)rai[ḥ*] pa[ri*]ha[ra*]ntu parihārayantu cha [|*]yō='sma ch=chhāśa(sa)nam-atikra-

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1 Read *mahārājaḥ*

2 There is some deformation below the letter *ta*

3 In the lower central part of this plate are three concentric circles

4 Sanskrit equivalent would be *Īśvara-śarmmaṇē*

Fourth Plate : Firts Side

21 mē[t*] saḥ pāpaḥ śārīraṁ daṇḍam=arhati[|*] api ch=ātr=ārsha[ḥ*]śu(ślō)kāḥ [|*] Bhūmi-dānā-

22 t-paraṁ dānaṁ na bhūtaṁ na bhavishyati [|*]tasy=aiva haraṇa(ṇā)t=pāpaṁ na bhūtaṁ na bhavishya-

23 ti || [1*] Bahurbhi=vasudhā[1] datta(ttā) bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā[|*] yasya yasya ya-

24 dā bhūmi[s*]-tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)la[m] [|| 2*] Sva-datta(ttāṁ) para-datta(ttā)ṁva[2] (ṁ vā) yō harēta

Fourth Plate : Second Side

25 vasundharā[ṁ*] gā(ga)vāṁ śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ=pibati kilbisham [|| 3*] Brahma-

26 svan-tu visha[ṁ*] ghōraṁ na vishaṁ visham-uchyatē [|*] visham-ēkākina[ṁ*] hantu(nti)

27 brahmasva[ṁ*] putra-pautri[kaṁ](kam) [|| 4*] Kāñchīpur-ādhipō(pēna) dattaṁ bhaktēna brāhma-

28 ṇāya cha [|*] rakshan-artthaṁ yā(ya)dā bhūmi-vallabha Pallava sadā[3][||5*]

Fifth Plate

29 Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē trayōdaśē Mahākā-

30 rttikā(ka)-māsē śukla-paksha-pañchamya(myāṁ) Viśāka(khā)-nakshatrē Guruva(vā)rē

31 Lā[ḍa]rājajñā(j-ājña)ptyā Rudra-śarmmē(rmma)ṇa(ṇā) [likhitam-i]daṁ sā(śā)śa(sa)nam-āchandra-

32 dā(tā)rakaṁ kṛitvā dattavān [|*] svasti gō-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ [||*][4]

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1 Read *bahubhir=vasudhā*.

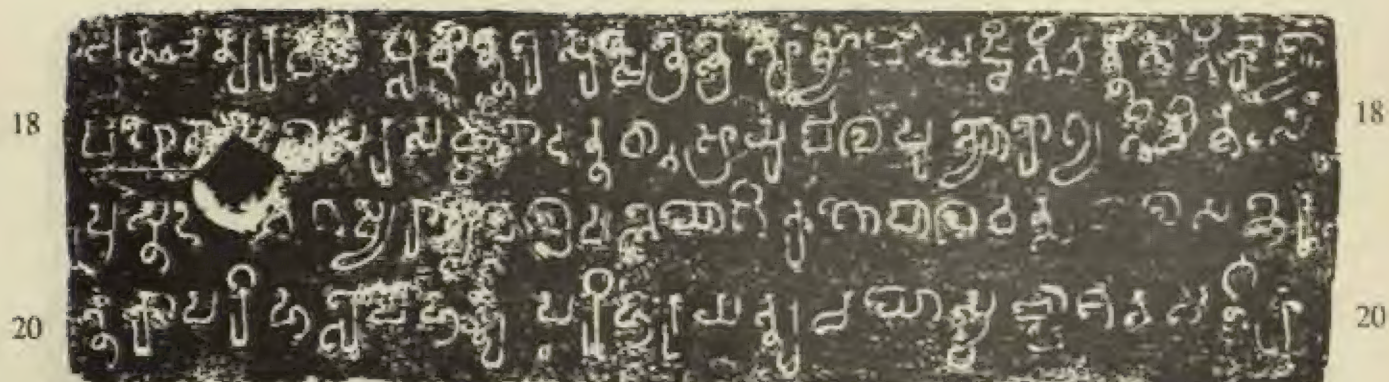
2 Here the *sandhi* with the nasal *ṁ* is not required.

3 The second half of this verse is corrupt and does not admit of any reasonable correction.

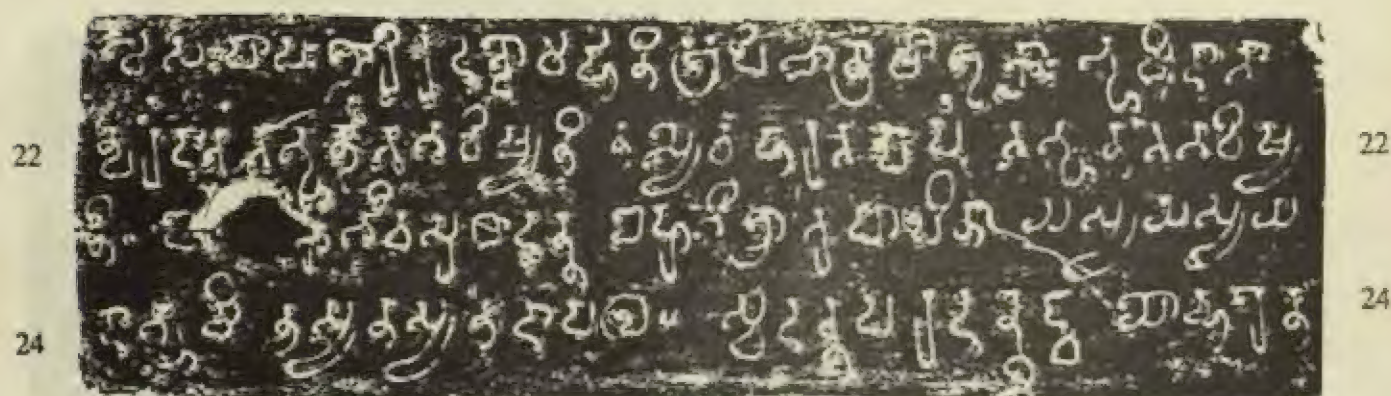
4 There is a spiral mark after this.

BABBĒPALLI PLATES OF PALLAVA KUMĀRAVISHNU
—PLATE II

iii b



iv a



iv b

v

No. 6—A NOTE ON KAVUTĀḶAM INSCRIPTION OF ACHYUTARĀYA, ŚAKA 1454

Madhav N. Katti and N. Nanjundaswamy, Mysore

The inscription[1] taken up for discussion here is engraved on the wall of the Āñjanēya temple in the village Kavutāḷam, Adoni Taluk, Kurnool District. It is dated Śaka 1454, Nandana, Phālguṇa ba. 7, Monday, corresponding to 1533 A.D., March 17. The record refers itself to the reign of Achyutarāya who ruled the Vijayanagara empire from 1529 to 1542 A.D.[2]

The inscription states that a grant was made to the *samasta-gauḍu-praje* of Kavatāḷada sīme by Salakayadēva Chika-Tirumalarāya-mahā-arasu, who is referred to as *Achyutarāyara-bhuja pratāp-ōḍ[d]aṁḍa* and *mahāmaṁḍalēśvara* (lines 6-11). The inscription states that all the people of Kavatāḷa had migrated from that territory (i.e., Kavatāḷada sīme) to the Manuve territory in order to escape from the tyranny of the palace officials. At the behest of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Salakayadēva Chika-Tirumalarāja, who promised relief to them, the people returned to their original territory of Kavatāḷa. Text lines 8 to 17 read :

8 Mahāmaṁḍalesva(śva)ra Salakayadēva-Chika-Tiru-
9 malarāja-maha(hā)-arasugaḷu Kavatāḷada sī-
10 meya samasta-gaüḍu-prajegaḷige [koṭ]a si(śi)lā-
11 sā(śā)sanada kramav=eṁteṁdare nimma Kavatāḷada sīme-
12 yalū aramaneyavarū āvanayava[3] māḍalā-
13 gi [a]vanāyake[4] ā(a)mji nāü śa(sa)masta-prajegaḷū
14 sīmeyanu biṭ[t*]u haṭa=māḍi Mānuveya-sīme-
15 ge biṭ[t]u hōgi yiralāgi nāü Ādavānige baṁdu
16 nimma Kavatāḷada sīmeya sama[sta-gaüḍa-pra]-
17 jegaḷige koṭ[t]a śilāsā(śā)sanada kramav=eṁteṁdare

The inscription is useful for highlighting some interesting aspects of the social and economic conditions of the Vijayanagara period. Again, though the text is already published, some of the readings are not correctly given there. These factors necessitate the writing of this note. The improved readings will be shown with reference to the earlier readings while discussing the relevant portion. Some of the terms used for connoting different taxes also merit discussion. The harassment of the people by the palace officials also reflects the not often narrated side of mal-administration in a bureaucratic system. The agreement reached

1 The inscription is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1915 as No. B 492 and the text is published in *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. II, No. 554.
2 P.B. Desai *et al*, *A History of Karnataka*, pp. 373 ff.
3 Read °anyāyava
4 Read anyāyake°

between the imperial officer and the people, as recorded in the inscription, shows that the highly developed bureaucratic set up of Vijayanagara had also, in its mechanism, remedial measures to set right the wrongs done. The inscription, therefore, provides a very important facet of the life of the Vijayanagara period. The entire population of Kavatāḷada sīme vacated the area and migrated to Mānuveya[1] sīme, as a result of the harassment by the palace administration and was subsequently rehabilitated in their original territory of Kavatāḷa. It is possible that the people inhabiting the Kavatāḷa-sīme had not been able to pay some taxes, etc., as expected, due to some difficult conditions and that the palace officials harassed them too much, as a result of which they had to flee from the territory, for fear of their lives and property (*avanāyake amji*, line 13). The word *avanāya* i.e., *anyāya* makes it clear that the palace administration committed excesses thereby compelling the people to vacate their territory, and ultimately *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Salakayadeva Chika-Tirumalarāja, under whose governance the two territories must have been placed, had to personally intervene and enter into a new agreement, having come to Ādavāni within which division Kavatāḷa was situated, with the *gavuḍu-praje* i.e., the village chiefs and people (line 15), stipulating modified conditions regarding the payment of taxes etc., the details of which are furnished by the record.

Mahamandaleśvara Salakayadeva Chika-Tirumalarāja is already known through a number of inscriptions and he played a consequential role in Vijayanagara history in the post-Achyutarāya period.[2] Kavatāḷa and Mānuve are situated at a distance of about 20 kms from each other and must have been the headquarters of the respective territories (or sub-divisions) which lay adjacent. Kavatāḷa is the same as the present day Kautāḷam, the findspot of the record, in Kurnool District. Mānuve is the present day Mānvi, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in Raichur District. Though presently the two districts are in two different States (Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, respectively), they have a geographical, cultural and linguistic contiguity and constituted parts of one division, during the Vijayanagara period and even upto recent years.

Amongst the stipulations referred to in the record, it is worth mentioning here that the *golaru* (i.e., *gollaru* who were rearing cows, sheep, etc.) had to give one sheep (*kuri*) and one young one (*mari*) for each *kuri-hindu*(i.e., flock of sheep—lines 45-46) for the purpose of butter-milk, evidently to the palace. Those who reared bullocks had to pay a tax called *mesu-vana*[3] (tax for grazing) for grazing their bullocks on green pastures (*hasiya sāseya*).[4]

The term *mesu-vana* (i.e., *mesuva haṇa*, money or tax on grazing) is very interesting[5] in that it shows that the tax was to be paid for grazing the bullocks (which evidently includes grazing of other animals also). Thus the inscription throws much welcome light on a hitherto not well known socio-economic aspect of the period.

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1 Wrongly read *Māsaveya* in the published text, vide, *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, part II, No. 554, text line 14.

2 P.B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

3 The published text reads *masuvana*.

4 The word *hasiya* means 'green' and '*sāse*' means *sēsa* (crop), obviously the residue of the green (vide, F. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 1551).

5 There are similar taxes like *pullulvu*, known through inscriptions, vide, *Prabhuddha Karnataka*, Vol. 51, part II, pp. 91-92.

No. 7—BHOPAL BIRLA MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIṀHADĒVA II, VIKRAMA 1308

(*1 Plate*)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on a stone pillar now kept in the Birla Museum, Bhopal. According to the museum authorities, the pillar was orginally found in the village Bamai in Raisen District in Madhya Pradesh. During my visit to Bhopal in March 1979, the museum officials were good enough to permit me to examine the inscription and prepare estampages for which I am thankful to them.[1]

The inscribed area measures about 25 cm in length and 27.4 cm in breadth. The size of the letters is not uniform and varies in height from 1.4 cm to 2.2 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī and they are regular for the period to which the record belongs. Among the **palaeographical** features, the following are noteworthy. Both the forms of medial sign for *ē* occur here; one of them is indicated by a *pṛishṭhamātrā* as found in *varshē* in line 1, *grāmē* in line 4, etc. The other is denoted by a *śirōmātrā* as seen in *Vudhē* in line 1, *dēva* in line 14, etc. There are in all 14 lines of writing. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit influenced by local dialect as seen in the use of such words as *kārāpyā, lagna* in line 6. The inscription is partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards **orthography**, the following features are noteworthy 1) The use of *v* for *b* as noticed in words like *Vudhē* in line 1 and *vrāhmaṇa* in line 8; 2) the doubling of consonants immediately preceded by *r* as for instance in words like *dharmma* in line 7, *sarvvā* in line 12 and *nirmmalaḥ* in line 13.

The inscription commences with the auspicious word *ōṁ* expressed by a partly damaged symbol. This is followed by the details of the date, viz., Vikrama 1308, Āśvina vadi 12, Wednesday corresponding to 1251 A.D., September 13, f.d.t. °23, the month being *Pūrṇimānta*. The record then refers itself to the reign of the king Jayasiṁhadēva. It mentions also his chief minister (*mahāpradhāna*) *Rāja* Kāmadēva. Thereafter, it records that a temple (*āyatana*) of Talakēśvara was caused to be built by *Rāja* Talakasiṁha, the son of *Rāja* Salakhē at the village of Vrā(Brā)hma. It is further stated that a sum of 400 *drammas* were spent probably by Talakasiṁha, in connection with the *udyāpana* ceremony conducted very likely on the completion of the construction of the temple of Talakēśvara. The word *lagna* used in the nominative case here generally means 'adhered, clinging' etc.[2] In the present context, however, it may probably mean 'connected with, pertaining to' leading to the conclusion that the ceremony in question involved an expenditure of 400 *drammas*. The performance of *udyāpana* ceremony on the completion of any structure is well known in this period and this has been referred to in another inscription of the same king from Paṭhāri, dated Vikrama 1326.[3] In the verse portion that follows Talakasiṁha's father, his wife and

1 This has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, under Appendix B 195.

2 *Sanskrit-Hindi-English Dictionary* by Suryakanta, p. 496.

3 Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 33 ff.

his brother are described. Verse 1 mentions Talakasiṁha and his father Salakhe.[1] Talakasiṁha was well-known as *dharmaśīla* and he was even devoted to the gods and the *brāhmaṇas*. Verse 2 describes his wife Gōga as of good character (*śīlinī*) and as the very incarnation of intelligence (*mati-rūpiṇī*). She was very much devoted to her husband. The verse ends with a wish for the growth of her fame (*kīrtti*). Verse 3 describes Talakasiṁha's brother by name Nāmadēva. He was always devoted to his studies and was a valiant and chaste person. It is not clear from the epigraph what Nāmadēva did to warrant his mention therein.[2] This (i.e., the text of the inscription) was narrated (probably composed) by *paṁ*° Mahāśarman and engraved (*utkīrṇṇa*) by *sutradhāra* Ubhayadēva, the son of Sahadēva.

The epigraph under study is important in as much as this is the earliest inscription discovered so far of Jayasiṁhadēva who is no doubt identical with Jayasiṁhadēva II—Jayavarman II of the Paramāra family, who ruled over the Malwa region during the period in question and is already known to us from a number of inscriptions.[3]

With the discovery of the present epigraph, the accession of Jayavarman II is pre-dated to 1251 A.D., as against 1255 A.D. hitherto known to us.[4] The name of *Mahāpradhāna* Kāmadēva is made available to us for the first time in this inscription. It is quite probable that he was the *mahāpradhāna* of Jayasiṁhadēva—Jayavarman II in the early part of his reign for in Vikrama 1317 (1260 A.D.), Rāja Ajayadēva figures as the king's *mahāpradhāna*.[5]

The village Vra (Brā)hma, where the temple of Talakēśvara (the god evidently so named after the donor) was constructed, is obviously identical with the modern village Bamai in Raisen District where the inscription was originally discovered.

TEXT[6]

[Metre : Verses 1-3 *Anushṭubh*]

1. Ōṁ[7] [|*] saṁvatu(t) 1308 varshe Āśvina vadi 2 Vu(bu)dhe ady=e-
2. ha samasta-rājāvalī-virājita-śrīma[j]=Jayasiṁha-
3. dēva-vijayarājye mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Kāmadē-

1 Salakhanasiṁha figures as the father of the donor Anayasiṁha in the Māndhātā plates of the same king, dated Vikrama 1331. (Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.) Could he be identical with Salakhe, father of the donor Talakasiṁha of the present epigraph in which case Anayasiṁha and Talakasiṁha will have to be deemed as brothers born to Salakha. This will make Nāmadēva, mentioned in the record under study, as another son of Salakhanasiṁha *alias* Salakhe.

2 In this context the reference to Talakasiṁha as *varggin* in verse 1 is of interest. The word actually means 'devoted' to a side or a party or a family. Talakasiṁha was obviously greatly attached to the members of his family and this may explain why the inscription contains references to his father Salakha, wife Gōgā and brother Nāmadēva none of whom was directly involved with the object of the inscription.

3 Rāhatgarh stone inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84, Modi stone inscription, *PRAS.* W.C., 1912-13, p. 56; *A.R.Ep.*, 1950-51, B. 124; Māndhātā Copper-plate grant, above, Vol. IX, pp. 117 ff.; Bhilsa stone inscription, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 187. Paṭhāri stone inscription, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 33 ff.; Māndhātā Copper-plate grant, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff.

4 *Contra. The Paramāras* (by P. Bhatia), p. 154.

5 Above, Vol. IX, p. 119.

6 From inked impressions.

7 Expressed by a partly preserved symbol.

BHOPAL BIRLA MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIṀHADĒVA II, VIKRAMA 1308



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

4 va-samayē adya Vrā(Brā)hma-grāmē rāja-śrī-Salakhē-suta-
5 rāja-Talakasiṁha[1]dēva[2] śrī-Talakēśvaraḥ sa[3] āya-
6 tanaṁ kārāpyāṁ [4]|| sa[5] udyāpanē lagna-dramā[ḥ*] 400 ||
7 Dharmmaśīl=iti vikhyātaḥ rāja-śrī- Salakhē- su-
8 taḥ | dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-parō nityaṁ[6] Talakasiṁ[ha*]sya va-
9 rgginaḥ [||1||] Tasya bhāryā tu Gōga yā śīlinī ma-
10 ti-rūpiṇī | atīva-bhartri(rtṛi)-bhaktā cha tasyāḥ kīrttis=tu va-
11 rddhatu [||*] 2 [||*] Talakasiṁhasya bhā(bhrā)tur-yaḥ Nāmadēv-e-
12 ti viśrutaḥ || (|) sarvv-ābhyāsa-parō nityam paurush-ā[t]i-
13 khyāti-nirmmalaḥ[6] [||3||] uktam=idaṁ Paṁ° śrī-Mahā-śarmē(rma)-
14 ṇa(ṇā) || Sūtradhāraḥ[7] Sahadēva-suta-Ubhayadev[ē]na utkī-
15 [rṇṇam*] [||*]

1 There is a scratch after the letter *ha*, looking like a *visarga* mark.
2 Read odēvēna.
3 Read *Talakēśvarasya*.
4 Read *kāritam* or *kārāpitam*.
5 Read *tasya*.
6 This quarter is metrically defective, there being 9 syllables instead of 8.
7 Read *sūtradhārēṇa*.

No. 8—THREE JIṆMĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY

(*2 Plates*)

Ram Sharma, Mysore

These inscriptions belong to the time of two important rulers of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Sam̐bhar and Ajmer. The records have been referred to several times and are more or less identical in their subject matter, but have not been edited as yet and therefore they are edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

1-2 Two Inscriptions of the time of Arṇūrāja, Vikrama 1196

Each of these two inscriptions is engraved on two separate pillars of the temple of the goddess called Jiṇmātā, at a place which itself is known as Jiṇmātā after the name of the goddess near the village Rāvāsā in the Danta Ramgarh Tahsil, Sikar District, Rajasthan. These were noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar.[1] Since these two inscriptions[2] are identical in their contents they are examined here together. These are called here as A and B for the sake of convenience.

The inscription A contains 6 lines of writing, and covers a space measuring about 41 cm × 30 cm, while B contains 12 lines and covers a space which measures 18.5 cm × 38.5 cm. On top of the writing in A is engraved an ornamental peak-like design while a similar peak-like design is engraved at the bottom of the writing in B. The upper half of B is also marked by an arch like design along the left and right margins and the top of the writing. The **characters** employed in both the records are Nāgarī. The writing is very carelessly executed, though all the letters can be made out without much difficulty and are normal for the period for which they belong. The forms of the letters *i, j, t, n* and *bh* are interesting in that they represent an early phase. The letter *ī* is represented by two top parallel dots having below a circle, cf. *ī* in *udaira* (B, line 8). The medieval form of *j* shows a clear link between its early and modern forms, cf. Arṇurāja (A, line 3) and in °*rāja* (B, line 4). The letters *t* and *n* in *sutēna* (A, line 5, B, line 8) and *bha* in *bhaṭāraka* (A, line 2; B, line 3) retain early features. The forms of the letters *dh* and *v* are identical, cf. *dh* in °*rājadhi*° (A, lines 2-3) and *va* in Sam̐vat (line 1). More interesting is the form of *r* which looks like *t*, cf. *rāja*° (A, line 1), °*rāja-parame*° (A, line 3), *bhaṭāraka* (A, line 2) and in *pararmma-bhaṭāraka* (B, line 3).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit which is influenced by local dialect. Of **orthographical** interest is the doubling of the letters following superscript *r* as *v* in *pūrvva* (A, line 2 and B, line 3), *dh* in *pravarddhamāna* (A, line 4 and B, line 7), on the analogy of which a wrong doubling of the letter *m* has taken place in *pararmma* (A, line 2 and B, line 3).

1 cf. *PRAS. W.C.* 1909-10, p. 52 and *Bhandarkar's list* No. 243; *Rajputana Museum Report*, 1934, p. 3, No. V.

2 They are Nos. B. 575 and B. 581 respectively of *A.R.Ep.*, 1959-60.

THREE JIṆMĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY—PLATE I

(1)



Both the inscriptions are dated Vikrama 1196, Vaiśākha śu. 11, Monday which corresponds to 1140 A.D., April 29, the year being *Kārttikādi*.

The inscriptions commence by giving the year in Vikrama saṁvat as was noted above. Then the victorious reign of *samasta-rājāvalī-pūrvvaka-paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara* Arṇurājadēva is mentioned. The **object** of the inscriptions is to record the renovation of the *prāsāda* (i.e., temple), obviously the temple of the goddess Jiṇmātā. Jiṇmātā seems to be a form of Durgā and identical with Jayantī described in *Nārada Saṁhitā*[1] as :

Jayantī sundarī kāryā kunta-śūl-āsi-dhāriṇī |
khēṭaka-vyagra-hastā cha pūjanīyā śubh-ānvitaiḥ ||

This description of Jayantī, however, indicates that she was a four-handed goddess and thus goes against the description of the goddess inside the temple, stated to have been "an eight-handed Mahishamardinī".[2] However, this can be rationalized by the fact that "The goddess Durgā may have four, eight or more hands".[3]

The persons responsible for the renovation were Alhaṇa of A and Delhaṇa of B who were the sons of Udayarāja. The first name as given in this inscription is Alhaṇa, but the correct name appears to be Ālhaṇa as given in the inscription of the time of Somēśvara, edited below. The exact status of these people is, however, not known, but they appear to be members of an important family of the place. Then the remaining details of the date which too have already been noticed above, have been given. The inscriptions end with the expression of *Maṁgalaṁ-mahā śrīḥ*. The name of the mason is not given in these two records; however, their calligraphy suggests that they were engraved most probably by one and the same man.

The king Arṇōrāja is identical with the famous ruler of this name who flourished in the Chāhamāna dynasty. Our inscriptions are important as being the only two known records of the ruler in question, as also for supplying information about his imperial status.

No name of geographical importance is found in both the inscriptions.

TEXT[5]

(*A*)

1 Saṁvat 1196 samasta-rajāvalī-

2 pūrvva[ka*]-pa[ra]rmma(ma)-bhaṭā(ṭṭā)raka-Mahārā-

3 jādhirāja[6] para(ra)mesva(śva)ra-śrī-Aruṇurājadevi(va)-ka-

4 la(lyā)na-vijaya-rajē(jyē) mahī-pravarddhamānēna Udairā[7]—[su]

---

1 cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, pt. II, Appendix C, *Pratimā-lakshaṇāni*, p. 128 and translated on p. 369 as : "Jayantī must also be sculptured as a very beautiful woman; her hands should be made to carry the *kunta*, *śūla*, *khaḍga* and *khēṭaka*. She is worshipped in thankfulness by those who are enjoying happiness".

2 cf. *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1070.

3 cf. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 341, and Appendix C, *Pratimā-lakshaṇāni*, p. 106, *Chaturbhuja-samāyuktām=ashṭābhir=dōrbhir=anvitām*, etc.

4 cf. *PRAS. W.C.*, 1909-10, p. 51, No. 30.

5 From ink impressions

6 This letter has been engraved below the line

7 Read *Udayarāja*

5 tēna Alhaṇēna [prāsāda]-jīrṇōdhā(ddhā)ra[ḥ*] sa-

6 mudharata[1] Va(Vai)sā(śā) kha sudi 11 Chaṁdra-dinē [||*] maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrī[ḥ||*]

(*B*)

1 Saṁvat 1196 sama-

2 [sta]-rājāvalī-pū-

3 rvva[ka*]-pararmma(ma) bhaṭā(ṭṭā) ra-

4 ka-Mahārājādhirāja-

5 paramēsva(śva)ra-[śrī]-Arnu-

6 rājadēva-kalyāṇa-vija-

7 ya-rāja(jye) mahi-pravarddhamāne-

8 na Udairā[2]-sutēna Delha-

9 ṇēna prāsāda-jīrṇodhā(ddhā)-

10 ra[ḥ*] samudhṛi(ddhṛi)ta[ḥ ||*] Vaisā(śā)kha

11 sudi [11] Chaṁdra [|| *] maṁgalaṁ

12 mahā[3]-śrīḥ [|| *]

3. An Inscription of the Time of Sōmēśvara, Vikrama 1230

This inscription[4] also, like the previous two inscriptions of the time of Arṇōrāja, is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jiṇmata as mentioned above. This inscription was also noticed by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.[5]

The inscription contains 10 lines of writing, which have been engraved in the same pattern in which the previous two inscriptions have been done. It covers a space which measures about 17.5 cm × 39.5 cm. An arch-like line runs all along the left, right and top margins of the slab and there is also a peak-like triangular ornamental design at the bottom. In the case of the letters, *i*, *j*, *t*, *n* and *bh*, *v*, *n*, *l*, *r*, which have been discussed above, a definite development can be seen, cf. *i* and *r* in *udaira* (line 6), having a slanting bar instead of lower circle; *j* in *vijaya* (line 5), *t* in *sutēna* (line 6), *n* in *rājēna* (line 5) are very near to the modern forms of these letters; *bh* in *bhaṭa*° (line 2) is altogether different from the form as seen in A and B above. The forms of *dh* and *v* are similar, cf. *dh* in °*Rājādhi*° (line 3) and *v* in °*dēva*°

1 Read *samuddhṛitah.*

2 Read *Udayarāja.*

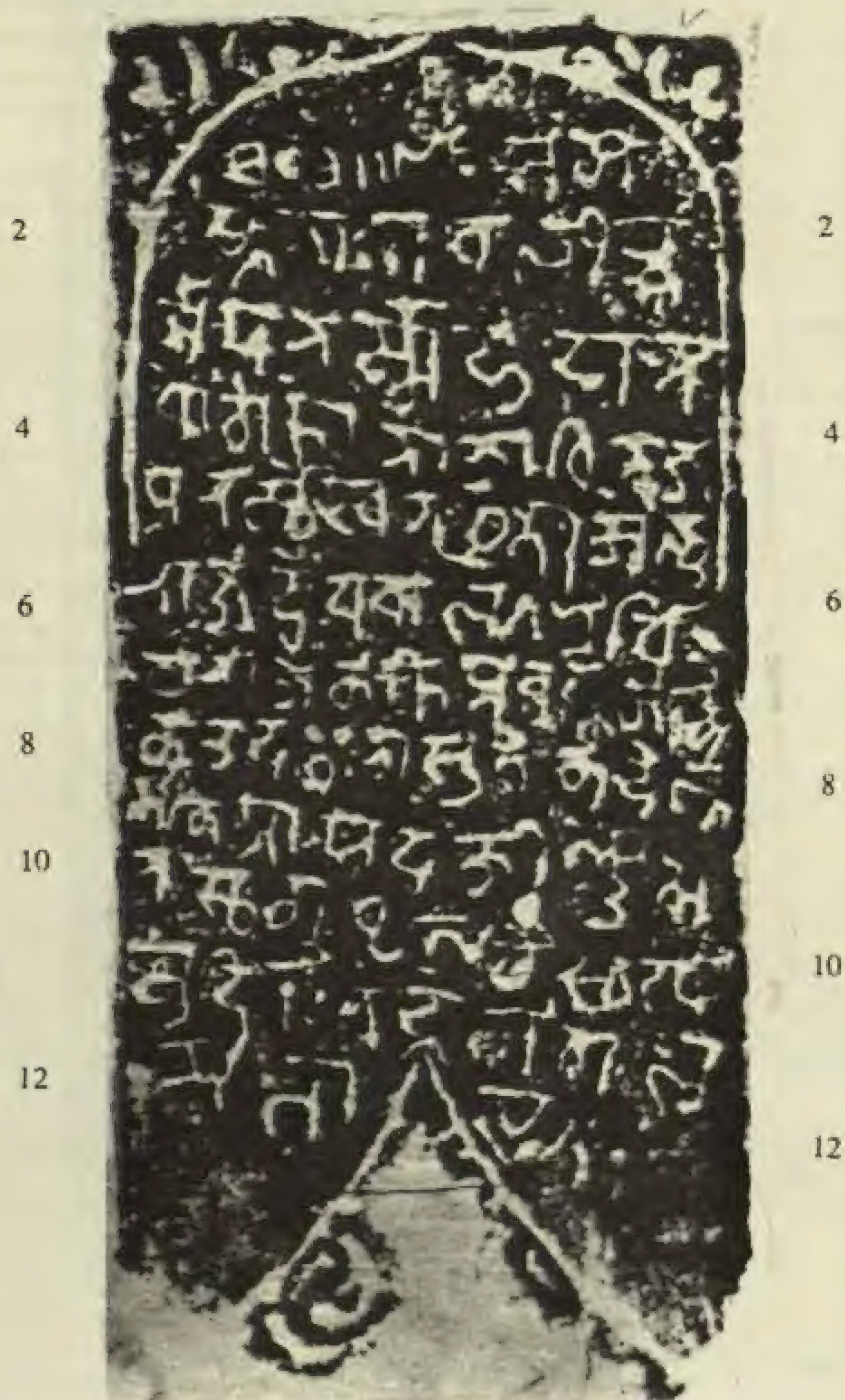
3 This letter looks like *tā.*

4 *A.R.Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B 571.

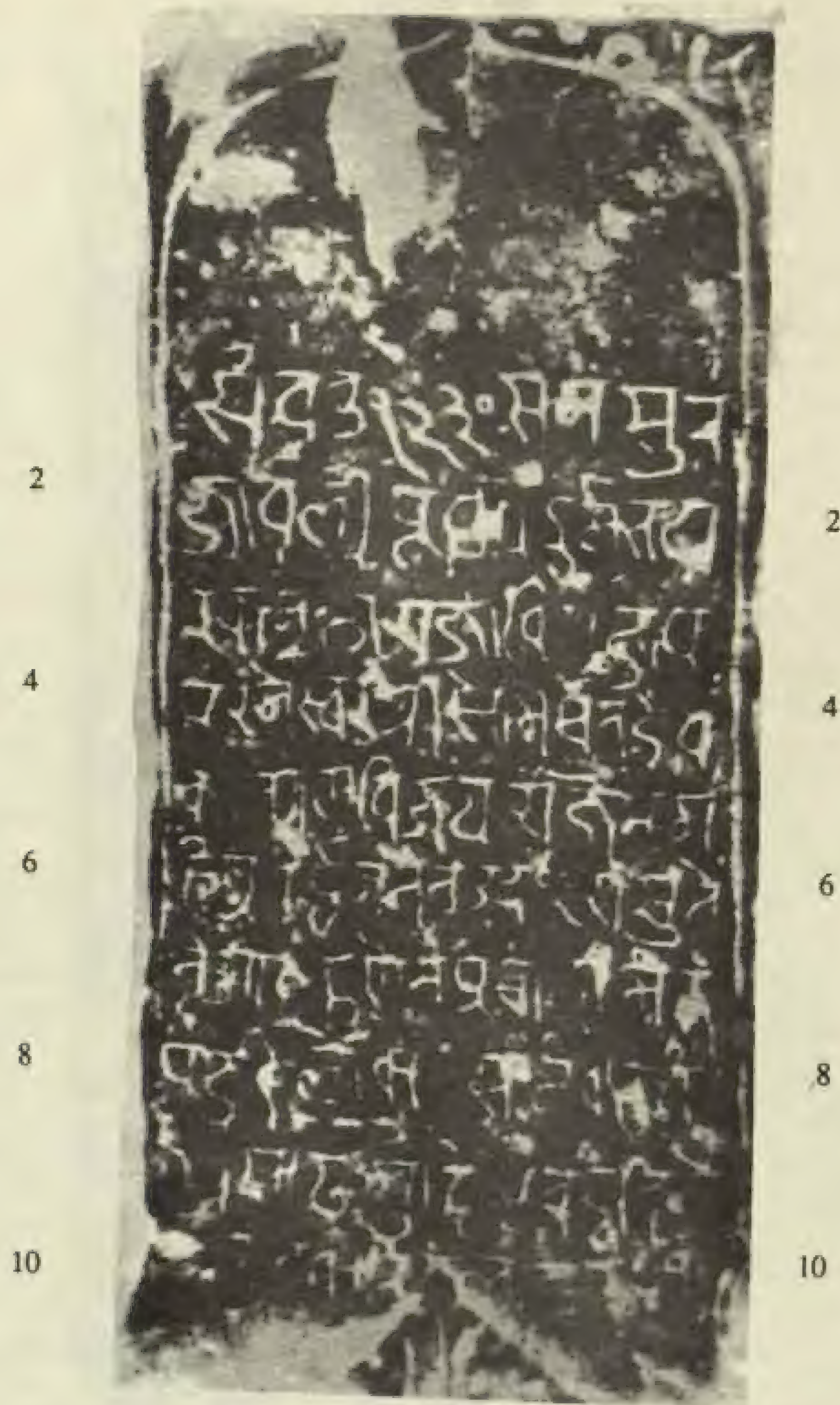
5 cf. *PRAS. WC.*, 1909-10, p. 52 and *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 360

THREE JINMĀTĀ TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF IMPERIAL CHĀHAMĀNA DYNASTY—PLATE II

(2)



(3)



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

(line 4). However, the development of a horizontal bar can be seen in *dha* in *jirnodhara* (line 8). The letter *n* here in this place is different from *n* in *Alhanena* (line 7). The form of *r* has become normal by losing elongation of left leg which we have already seen in A and B above. The **language** and **characters** of the epigraph are Sanskrit and Nagari respectively. The influence of the local dialect is also noticed. **Orthographically** also the inscription tallies with the previous two inscriptions: the wrong doubling of *m* has, however, not taken place here.

The inscription is dated Vikrama 1230 (line 1), Ashadha śu. 9, Monday (line 9) which corresponds to 1174 A.D., June 10 according to the *Karttikadi* system.

The record, like the previous two inscriptions, commences with the Vikrama year as noted above, and likewise the victorious reign of the king Someśvara described as *samasta rajavali-purvvaka-paramabhattaraka-maharajadhiraja-parameśvara* is next mentioned. The **object** of the inscription is to register the fact that repairs were carried to the *mandapa* of the temple (*prasada*), obviously of the goddess Jinmata. The renovation was done by Alhana, son of Udaira (i.e., Udayaraja). Obviously, this Alhana is the same Alhana as mentioned in the inscription of V.S. 1196 as noted above and which belongs to the time of Arnoraja. It is interesting to note that the same person Alhana who, along with his brother Delhana, got the temple of Jinmata renovated in Vikrama 1196, gets its *mandapa* renovated in Vikrama 1230 exactly after 34 years, one month and 13 days. The changing fortunes of the Chāhamāna dynasty during this period which witnessed the reigns of atleast six rulers in Arnōraja, Jagaddeva, Vigraharaja (IV), Aparagangeya, Prithvibhata and Someśvara did not obviously affect the lot of Alhana who appears to have carried on smoothly with his architectural activities without bothering about political developments in the Chahamana kingdom.[1] The *sutradhāra* was Kaladharadeva.

The king Someśvara is identical with the ruler of the same name, who flourished in the imperial Chahamāna dynasty of Sambhara and Ajmer and who succeeded Prithvibhata or Prithvīrāja II on the Chahamana throne.

No name of geographical importance is recorded in the inscription.

TEXT[2]

1 Saṁvatu(t) 1230 samasta-ra-

2 jāvali-pūrvva[ka*]-pararma(ma)bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-

3 raka-Mahārājādhiraja-pa-[3]

4 pararmesva(śva)ra-śri-Somesva(śva)radeva

5 kalyāṇa-vijaya-raje(jye) na[3] ma

1 For some details see above, Vol. XXXVII, pt. VII, pp. 319-22

2 From ink impressions

3 This letter is redundant

6 hishu(pra)varddhama(mā)nena Udaira[1] sute-

7 na Alhanena prasadi[2] maṁḍa-

8 paṁ(paḥ) jirṇodhara(ddharaḥ) samudharitaṁ[3][||*]

9 A(Ā)sā(sha)ḍha sudi 9 Chaṁdra-dine

10 su(sū)tradhāra-[Ka]ladharadevaḥ ||

---

1 Read *Udayarāja*.

2 Read *Prāsādiya*.

3 Read *samuddhritaḥ*.

No. 9—PHULBĀNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAṆABHAÑJADĒVA, YEAR 28

(*3 Plates*)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The set of copper-plates edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered at Phulbani in the Phulbani Tahsil in the district of the same name and is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubanēśvar. During my visit to Bhubanēśvar in April 1978, the Museum authorities were good enough to pemit me to examine the plates and copy the same.[1]

The set consists of three oblong copper-plates, each measuring approximately 18.6 cm in length and 11.9 cm in breadth. They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of an oval seal. On the left side of the plate, there is a circular hole through which the ring passes. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether fifty six lines of writing. The first plate contains thirteen lines of writing while each of the two sides of the second plate has eleven lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has twelve lines of writing whereas its second side contains nine lines of writing. The seal is about 5.5 cm in diameter and it bears comparison to similar seals of the plates of this king.[2] It has a knob-like projection at its top representing the sun, a crescent like symbol below it representing the moon, the legend reading *Śrī Raṇabhañjadēvasya* below the latter and the figure of a couchant bull facing proper right at the bottom. All these various designs are worked in.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 10-11th century used in Kaliṅga and closely resemble those of the Phulbāni copper-plates of the 9th year[3] and the Aida plates of the [50]th year[4] of the same ruler as also those of his Patna Museum plates of the 22nd year[5] and the Baudh plates of the 26th year.[6] Of the initial vowels, *a*, is used in lines 10, 14-15, 20, 36, 49, 51, *ā*, in lines 8, 38-39, *i* in lines 9, 10, 52, *u* in lines 16, 25, 46, 55 and *ē* in lines 37, 49. The vowel *ṛi* occurs once in line 27 though resulting in an orthographical error.

The **language** of the charter is Sanskrit and the composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. As is common to most of the Bhañja plates, there are many defects in spelling, grammar, etc. Of particular **orthographical** interest is the word *āṭavisanti* (line 55), perhaps the result of local pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *ashṭāviṁśati*.

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1 This has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1977-78 as No. A 18.

2 Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 257 ff; *JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff.

3 *JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff. and plate.

4 Above, Vol XXXVII, pp. 257 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff. and plate.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff. and plate.

The date of the record is given as *vijaya rājya saṁvatsarē āṭāvisanti*,[1] which as has been pointed out above, obviously stands for Sanskrit *ashṭāviṁśati*. The king is described as a *parama-vaishṇava* and is endowed with the title *Rāṇaka* as in his other records.

The charter refers itself to the reign of *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañjadēva, the son of Śatrubhañja and the grandson of Śilābhañja. It begins with the symbols for *siddham* and *ōṁ*. Then follow four verses (lines 1-10) which refer to Śilābhañja and his son Śatrubhañja. Then follows a prose passage (lines 10-13) in praise of a Bhañja king whose name, however, is not mentioned as in his other records. The record then mentions the city Dhṛitipura whence the grant seems to have been issued. In the subsequent prose passage (lines 14-18), *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañjadēva is mentioned. He was born in Aṇḍaja-vaṁśa, was a *parama-vaishṇava* and was meditating at the feet of his parents. He is described as a *Bhañjāmalakula-tilaka* and the lord of Ubhaya Khiñjali. He obtained the title of *pañchamahāśabda* and was revered by his subordinates (*mahasāmanta*). Besides, he was blessed by the boon from Stambhēśvarī. The record then recounts a list of officials of Khiñjali-maṇḍala to whom the royal order is addressed. In the royal decree (lines 22-30) that follows, it is stated that for the sake of the increase of the religious merit of his parents and himself the king made a grant of the village Vaḍhamaśarā to *Bhaṭaputra* Trivikramanandi, the son of Kallunandi and grandson of Vā[ma]nandi, belonging to the Krishṇ-Ātrēya-gōtra, the three *pravaras* of Ātrēya, Archanānasa and Śyāvāśva, and the Chhāndōgya-charaṇa and Āruṇi-śākhā. The gift-village is stated to be situated in Tulēsiṅga-vishaya and on the banks of the Mahānadī. Tulēsiṅga-vishaya figures also in the other Phulbāni plates[2] of this king. The gift-village was granted along with the privileges *nidhi* and *upanidhi*. This is followed by the king's injunction (lines 30-33) to the effect that no one should cause even a slight hindrance in respect of the gift, obviously in its enjoyment by the donee. Lines 34-54 contain fifteen usual imprecatory verses. The date of the record, already discussed above, is given in line 55. Lines 55-56 state that the record was engraved by *vaṇika suvarṇakāra* Śivaṇāga, the son of Pāṇḍi. He is no doubt identical with his namesake who figures as the engraver in the Biṅkā,[3] Patna Museum[4], Chakradharpur[5] and Baudh plates[6] of the same king. He in fact appears for the first time as engraver in the Sonpur plates of Śatrubhañja[7], the father of Raṇabhañjadēva.

In the present charter Raṇabhañja is described as a *parama-vaishṇava*. We know that in his Biṅkā (year 16)[3], Patna Museum (year 22)[4], Chakradharpur (year 24)[5], Baudh[6] (year 26) plates also he is described as a *parama-vaishṇava* while in his second Baudh plates (year

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1 The word *visanti* is used in the sense of *viṁśati* in the Patna Museum plates, Year 22 of the same king. *Ibid.*, Vol XX, p. 104, lines 55-56.

2 *JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff. wherein the name of the *vishaya* is wrongly read as Kulasidga.

3 *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 173 ff.

4 Above, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff. and plate.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 269 ff.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.

54)[1] as also in his Jagati plates[2] of the same year he is described as *parama-māhēśvara*. In this connection it may be pointed out that P.R. Srinivasan, while re-editing Raṇabhañja's Aida plates[3] re-interpreted the word *namamē* standing for Raṇabhañja's regnal year as standing for the year 50 according to the *kaṭapayādi* system on the basis that in his later years Raṇabhañja had become a *parama-māhēśvara*. In this light the present charter dated in his 28th regnal year becomes the latest known record to describe Raṇabhañja as a *parama-vaishṇava*.[4]

Of the geographical names occurring in this record, Dhṛitipura, Ubhaya-Khiñjali and Khiñjali-maṇḍala are already known from other records of the Bhañja family. Tulesiṅga-vishaya in which the grant village lies has been identified with Tutursiṅga in the Baudh P.S. in the district of Phulbāni.[5] The gift-village Vāḍhamaśara is stated to have been situated on the banks of the river Mahānadī which is no doubt identical with the well-known river of that name flowing in Orissa. I am, however, unable to identify the gift-village.

TEXT[6]

[Verses 1-3 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5-18 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 19 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

1 Siddhaṁ[7] [||*] ōṁ [||*] Sasa[8] || Sa[ṁ*]hāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sa[ṁ*]bhrānta-kiṅkara-kritānta-[nitānta*]-bhi-

2 nnaṁ(nnam) [|*] bhinn=Āndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātpa(tapa)tra[ṁ*] |[9] tad-Bhairava[ṁ] Hara-vapur=bhavataḥ prapātuḥ(tu) || [1*] Du-

3 rvvāra-vāraṇa-raṇa-prati-pakshi(ksha)-[vaksha*]-lakshmī-haṭha-grahaṇa-su-prasṛita-pratāpā[ḥ|*] Bhañjā-nna(na)rādhi-

4 patayō va(ba)havō va(ba)bhu(bhū)vur=udbhu(dbhū)tayō=tra bhuva(vi)-bhu(bhū)ri-sahasra-sa(saṁ)khā(khyāḥ) || [2*][10] Teshāṁ kulē sakala-

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1 Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 257 ff.

4 Applying the same *kaṭapayādi* reckoning, the date of Raṇabhañja's Phulbāni plates (*JESI*, Vol. V, pp. 115 ff.) which also mentions the year as *namamē* should be taken to belong to Raṇabhañja's 50th regnal year

5 *JESI*, Vol. V, p. 119.

6 From impressions.

7 Expressed by a symbol.

8 Read *Svasti*.

9 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

10 The following two verses (Verses 3-4) are metrically defective.

5 bhu(bhū)ta[la*]-pāla-maulī(li)-māl-archchit-āṁghri(ghri)-ju(yu)galō valavāṁ nṛipō=[1] hu(bhū)t || (|)śrī-Śīlābhañja-

6 dēva[ḥ*] prakaṭa-paurusha-raśmi-chakra-ni[r*]-dārit-āri-hṛidanṛi[2]yō=sya pitā nṛipa-

7 sya | (||) [3*] Gāmbhīryēṇa payōnidhi[ḥ*] |[3] thi(sthi)ratayā bhu(bhū)mi[ḥ*] va(ba) lēn=Ānila[ḥ*] te[jō*]bhir=ya(jva)-

8 lanō='ryamā[ḥ*] samatayā ||[4] śubhair=jja(ya)śōbhiś=śasī(śī) [|*] ātmā sarvva-jaganamna-[5]

9 sthitatayā datt-āvakāśō viya[j*]=jāta[ḥ*] ||[4] śrī-Śatrubhañja ity=atula-dhīḥ tasy=ātmaja[ḥ]

10 Svayambhuvat || [4*] Anō(nyō)nya-mada-māna-mīlita-samuddhata-nṛipa-chaku(kra)-chaturaṅga-va(ba)la-kshō-

11 bha-chalī(li)ta-dharā-maṇḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarad=atula= dhu(dhū)li-vitāna-

12 sachchhanna-jany-āṅgaṇa-gaja-skandha-vēdikā-svayamvarāyāt | pariṇīta-ja[ya*] lakshmī-sa-

13 mānandita-paura-jana-mānasaḥ śrīmad-Bhañja-bhu(bhū)patiḥ purād=Dhṛitipura-nāmna[5][ḥ*] | sa(śa)-

Second Plate : First Side

14 rad=amala-dhavala-kara-yaśaḥ paṭala-dhavalita-dig=vadanō ||[6] anavara-

15 ta-pravṛita(tta)-sanmāna-dān-ā[na*]ndita-sakala-janō Aṇḍaja-vaṅśa-prabhavaḥ pa-

16 rama-vaishṇava-mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta-Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka-U-

17 bhaya-Khiñjaly-ādhipati-samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śavda(bda)-mahāsāmanta-va-

18 ndita-Stambhēśvarī-lavdha(bdha)-vara-prasāda-|[7] Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇa[bha*]ñja-dēva[ḥ*] kuśalī[|*]

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1 Read *balavān=nṛipō=*

2 This letter *nṛi* is redundant.

3 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

4 These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

5 The letters *namna* form a metathetical error for -°*nmana*.

6 These *daṇḍas* are redundant.

7 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

PHULBĀNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAṆABHAÑJADĒVA, YEAR 28—PLATE I

i

K. V. Ramesh   Scale : Three-Fourth

ii a

ii b

K. V. Ramesh

Scale : Three-Fourths

19 ih=aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍalē bhavishyad-rāja-rājanak-āntaraṅgara-[1]

20 kumāra(rā)mātya-mahāsāmanta-[brā*]hmaṇa-pradhāna[n*]- ana(nyāṁ)ś=cha daṇḍapā-

21 śika-chāṭa-bhā(bha)ṭa-vallabha-jitin[2] ||[3] yath=ārhi(rhaṁ) mānayati vō(bō)dhayati

22 samādiśayati[4] ch-ānyat || sarvvataḥ si(śi)vam=asmākaṁ | viditam=astu

23 bhavataḥ(tāṁ) | Tulēsiṅga-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddhaḥ Mahānadi-vimala-jala-vi(vī)-

24 ji(chī)-prakshālita-taṭa-Vāḍhamaśarā-grāma[ḥ*] chatu(tuḥ] ||[5] sīmā-prayanta[ḥ*] nidhy-u-

Second Plate : Second Side

25 [6]upanidhi-sahita[ḥ*] mātā-pitrōya(r=ā)tmaja(na)ś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē sali[la*]-dhā-

26 rāḥ(rā)-puraḥ sarēṇa vidhinā || Kṛishṇ-Ātrēya-gōtrāya sā(Ā) trēya-Ārchanāna[sa*]-

27 Śavāśa-[7]tṛiāṛisaya-[8]pravarāya Chhāndōga(gya)-[cha*]rā(ra)ṇāya(y=Ā)[ru*]ṇi śākha(khā)[ya*] chatuvdē[9]

28 [10]vinirggataḥ(tāya) |[11] Bhaṭaputra-Tṛi(Tri)vikramanandi-Kallunandi-suta-Vā[12] nandi-

29 naptrē |[11] vidhi-vidhānēna sa-vindha(dhe)ya(yaṁ) tāmvra-śāsana[ḥ*] pratipāditō=

30 ya(yaṁ) | Pāra(raṁ)parya-kul-āvatārēṇa yāvad=vēd-ārtha-vachanēna yathā

31 kāṇḍā kāṇḍaḥ prarōhati || śāsanēna pratimasi sahasrēna

32 virōhasi ēvaṁ[13] vu(bu)ddhva parārddhañ=cha paratō vaṁś-āvatārēṇa(ṇ=ā) py=asmad=anurōdha(dhā)-

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1 Better read *āntaraṅgika*.

2 Read *jātīyān*.

3 These *daṇḍas* are redundant.

4 Read *samādiśati*.

5 These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

6 This letter *u* is redundant.

7 Read *Śyāvāśva*.

8 Read *try-ārshēya*.

9 The intended reading seems to be *chatur=vvēda-vide*.

10 The name of the village from which the donee emigrated is not given.

11 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

12 One letter, probably *ma*, should have followed and the space has been left blank by the engraver.

13 The subject matter in line 31 and upto the word *ēvaṁ* should be read properly as follows :

°Kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍāt-prarōhaṁti | yā śatēna pratanōshi sahasrēṇa virōhasi=ty=ēvaṁ

33 d=dharma-gauravā[ch*]=cha na kēnachisma(t=sva)-lā(lp=ā)pi vā(bā)dhā karaṇīyā || Tathā ch = ōktaṁ

34 dharmma=śāstrēshu [|*] Phala-krishṭā(shṭāṁ) mahī(hīṁ) dadyā[t*] sa-vi(bī)ja(jāṁ) sasya-mēdinī[m*] || (|) yāva[t*]

35 su(sū)rya-kṛitālōkē(kāḥ) tāva[t*] svargga(rggē) mahīyatōḥ(tē) | [|5*] Vēda-vākya-smayō[1] jihvā

Third Plate : First Side

36 vadanti rshi(ṛishi)-dēvatāḥ [|*] bhu(bhū)mi-harttā tath=ānyā(nyach=)cha ahō mā hara mā hara [||6*] Ya-

37 th=āpsu patitaṁ Śakra tē(tai)la-vi(bi)ndu viśa(sa)rppati || (|)ēva(vaṁ) bhu(bhū)mi-kṛitaṁ dānaṁ sasye

38 sasyē prarōhati || [7*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu[ḥ] Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāśanaḥ | Su(Śū)la-

39 pāṇī(ṇi)su(s=tu) Bhagavāṁ[2] abhinandanti bhu(bhū)mida(dam) | [| 8*] Āsphōṭayanti pitaraḥ pravalga-

40 nti pitāmahā[ḥ*] || (|) bhu(bhū) mi-dātā kulē jātā(taḥ) sa mē trā[tā*] bhavishyati [||*9]

41 r=vva(Ba) hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rāja(ja) nōḥ(bhiḥ) Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ*] | mā bhu(bhū) d=aphala-

42 sa(śaṁ)kā yā(vaḥ) pa[ra-*]datē(ttē)shu pālitaṁ(tē) ||[3] Yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[ḥ*] tasya

43 tasya tadā pā(pha)la[m*] [||10*] Sa(Sva)-datā(ttāṁ) para-datā(ttāṁ) vā yō harē[ta*] dva(va)sundharā[m] || (|) sa vishṭhāyā(yāṁ)

44 kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha pachyatē | [| 11*] Hiraṇyam=ēkaṁ gā[m=ēkāṁ] bhu(bhū)mi(mē)ma(r=a)py=arddham=aṅgu-

45 la[m*] | haraṇa(n=na)[ra*]kam=āyāti yāvad=ādhu(hū)ti(ta)-saṁplavaḥ(vam) | [| 12*] Bhu(Bhū)mi(miṁ) yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti

46 yachchha(ś=cha) bhu(bhū)miṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puna(ṇya)-ka[r*]mmāṇau niyatau(taṁ) svargga-gāminau[|| 13*]

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1 Read *Vēdavāk-smṛitayō.*

2 Read *Bhagavān.*

3 This half of the verse inserted here by mistake belongs to another verse of which the other half, viz. *Svadattāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ paradatt=ānupālanē* | has been omitted. In its place should have come the following half of the verse beginning with *yasya.*

PHULBĀNI COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RAṆABHAÑJADĒVA, YEAR 28—PLATE III

iii a

K. V. Ramesh — Scale : Three-Fourths — *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLII

iii b

SEAL

47 Haratē hārayatē bhu(bhū)miṁ manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā(mō)-vṛita[ḥ |*] sa va(ba)ddhō vāruṇaiḥ pāśai[ḥ*]

Third Plate : Second Side

48 śai[1] tirya[g*]-yōnishu jāyatē || [14*] Mā pārthivaḥ(va) kadāchitaṃ(t-tvaṁ) vra(bra)hmasvaṁ manasā da(ha)-

49 pi(ra) anaüshadhāṁ[2] abhaisharjya(jyaṁ) ētat ha(hā)lāhala[ṁ*] visha[ṁ](shaṁ) || [15*] Avishaṁ visham=ity=ā-

50 hu[ḥ*][3] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ(kaṁ) || [16*] Lōha-chu(chū)ṇṇā(rṇṇ-ā)sama(śma)-chu(chū)rṇṇañ=cha vishañ=cha jarayē[n*]-naraḥ | vra(bra)-

51 hmasvaṁ trishu lōkēshu kaḥ pumā[n*] jva(ja)rami(yi)shyati | [| 17*] Vājapēya-sahasrāṇi aśva-

52 mēdha-śatāni cha || (|) gavā(vāṁ) kōṭē(ṭi)-prada(dā)ttē(nē)na bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na su(śu)dhyati | [| 18*] Iti ka-

53 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlā(lāṁ) śri(śrī)yam=anuchintya [manu*]sya(shya)-jīvitañ=cha [|*] saka-

54 lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)dhaiḥ(dhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpyā [ḥ || 19*]

55 Vijaya-rājya-saṁvasa(tsa)rē āṭāvisanti[4] variśē[5] uktinañcha[6] vaṇi-

56 ka-suvarṇṇakāra Si(Śi)vaṇāga-Pāṇḍi-suta[7] [||*] lā(lāṁ)chhita(taṁ) mahārājaki[ya*]-mudrēṇati[8] [||*]

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1 This letter is redundant.

2 Read anaushadham

3 The engraver here has omitted the second and third quarters of the verse viz., *brahmasvaṁ visham=uchyatē | visham=ēkākinaṁ hanti*.

4 Read *ashṭāviṁśati*.

5 Read *varshē*.

6 Read *utkīrṇṇañ=cha*.

7 Read *sutēna*.

8 Read *mudray=ēti*.

No. 10— ON A MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM

(*1 Plate*)

Amarendra Nath, Nagpur

Majority of clay sealings discovered in the course of excavations at Adam,[1] Kuhi Taluk, Nagpur District, are of miscellaneous nature; however, a few of them have been classified as 'royal issues'. These issues have affinity with the little known rulers of the Deccan of the early historical period. Of these, one sealing reported from the site is ascribable to Sebaka and another one to Śālankāyana.[2] The third in the series, issued by a *Mahāsenāpati*,[3] forms the subject matter of the present article. It bears registration No. 2291, and was unearthed from layer two of trench No. YA 6/2.

Of pale brown colour, the near oval-shaped (2.6 x 2.4 cm) clay lump is in a good state of preservation, but unevenly finished. The upper face of the lump shows some cracks on the edges which are formed due to the gentle pressure applied in the course of stamping of the seal. But none of these cracks have caused any damage to the contents of the legend it bears. There are finger marks on the unevenly bulged sides, while the back portion has intersected bamboo-chip mark. Such impressions on the back generally demonstrate that the particular sealing was affixed to some consignment or document as a proprietary or copyright mark in order to protect the interest of the issuer, and minimise the chances of pilferage in transit. Those sealings noted without such marks at the back were votive or extramundane in nature. Turning to the upper plain of the sealing it is seen that the beaded flan of the circular incuse (dia. 1.6 cm) bears twelve early Brāhmī characters distributed inwardly. The legend in Prakrit starts clockwise at XII and terminates at XI. It reads : *Mahāsenāpatisa Janesirisa i.e.*, (this sealing is) of the *Mahāsenāpati Janaśrī* (Pl. 1).[4] The **characters**, uniformly sized to 3 mm square, are of nail-headed variety and are spaced at an interval of 1-$^{1}/_{2}$ mm. In the formation of the legend *na* and *sa* figure more than once. Incidentally, the looped variety of *ta* is typical to the Ikshvāku style while the rest of the characters give the impression of Sātavāhana palaeography of the second century A.D. The medial sign *ā* occurs uniformly, while the strokes for *i* show variations specially when compared with *si* and *ri*.

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1 The site has been identified as Asika Janapada. See Amarenda Nath, 'Toponym of Asika and Asaka, *Indica*, Vol. XXVII, Bombay, 1990, pp. 87-96.

2 Amarendra Nath, 'Yet another reference to Śālankāyana', *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona (under publication, Vol. 51).

3 *Macron* over e and o is not used in this article.

4 The author is thankful to Prof. Ajay Mitra Sastri, Head of the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department, Nagpur University for suggesting the Sanskrit form of Janesiri.

ON A MAHĀSĒNĀPATI SEALING FROM ADAM



K. V. Ramesh



Encircled by the legend, the sealing bears three auspicious symbols viz., (i) a twelve spoked *chakra* in the upper field, *(ii)* squatting to right a *vrishabha* in the centre, and (iii) *śaṅkha* in the lower field. Other than the *chakra*, the remaining two,symbols are feeble. These symbols are perhaps indicative of the religio-political status of *Mahasenapati* Janaśri. Traditionally, as we know, the *chakra* and *śaṅkha* are attributes of lord Vishṇu, while *vrishabha* is a *vāhana* of lord Śiva. Subsequently these symbols, however, were inherited by the Buddhists and Jains to meet their extramundane requirements.

Having described the sealing at length, finally the question arises of placing the issuer in historical perspective. Traditionally *mahasenāpati* (great chief of the army, i.e., general) is a synonym of Skanda-Karttikeya. Some epigraphical sources helps us in drawing the analogy. Ikshvāku inscriptions refer to Virupākshapati-mahasena-*parigahitasa*.[1] Further, in Kadamba inscriptions there is a reference to *Kadamba-mahasenapati-pratimah*,[2] an obvious reference to Skanda-Karttikeya. However, in the historical context *mahasenapati* denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of small territories. This is corroborated by the Vijayagadh inscription referring to a *maharaja-mahāsenāpati* who had been raised to the status of a leader by the Yaudhēya-gaṇa.[3] Even some kings like Paushyamitra Śuṅga,[4] Bhaṭarka,[5] the founder of the Valabhi dynasty and his son Dharasena[6] preferred to be designated as *senapati*. A sealing of Rudramagha of the Magha dynasty of Central India bears the legend : *Mahāsenāpatisya Rudramaghasya.*[7] Another Magha ruler Bhardrabala is also known by this title.[8] On the other hand in Pāla[9] and Eastern Chāḷukya[10] epigraphs *senapati* has been used to denote official designation. Likewise, the grant of Śrichandra also uses this term to indicate official designation.[11]

The foregoing survey reveals that the title under discussion was used in three different contexts, viz. (a) as synonym to Skanda-Karttikeya, (b) as an epithet prefixed to a chieftain or a ruler and, (c) as an official designation. The sealing in question falls under the second category. Now it becomes necessary to explore the possible region from where it originated. Let us examine the context in which it was discovered. As noted above it was retrieved from

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1 J.Ph. Vogel, "Prakrit Inscriptions from the Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa", Above, Vol. XX, pp.19-21.
2 V.S. Sukthankar, "Two Kadamba grants from Sirsi", Above, Vol. XVI, p. 266.
3 J.F. Fleet, "Bijayagadh Stone inscriptions of the Yaudhēyas", *CII*, Vol. III, No. 58, pp. 251-52.
4 D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Delhi (reprint), 1986, p. 95.
5 J.F. Fleet *CII*, Vol. III, No. 38, p. 165, lines 2-3, also see A.S. Gadre, "Two valuable grants from Mota Machiala", Above, Vol. XXXI, 1952, p. 302, line 2.
6 *Ibid.*, line 4, in each case, respectively.
7 V.S. Agrawala, "Clay Sealings from Rajghat", *JNSI*., Vol. 23, 1961, p. 412. Some scholars have tried to read the legend as *Mahāsenāputrasya Rudramaghasya*, see Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972, p. 38, f.n. 3.
8 N.P. Chakravarti, "Brāhmi Inscriptions from Bandhogarh", Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 185.
9 F. Kielhorn, "Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāladēva", Above, Vol. IV, p. 253.
10 F. Kielhorn, "Nandampūndi grant of Rājarāja I, dated in his thirty-second year", *Ibid.*, p. 302.
11 D.C. Sircar, "Dhulla plate of Śrichandra", Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 139.

layer two which yielded maximum number of coins attributed to Mahāraṭhi, a subordinate ruler of the later Sātavāhana period. Incidentally, Mahāsenāpatis were also semi-independent officials governing under the later Sātavāhanas. Hence to presume its origin within the later Sātavāhana territory may not sound unreasonable. But no direct evidence has been encountered in any of the primary or secondary sources which could associate Janesiri with any of the known *mahasenapatis* of the Deccan. However, the latter part of the name i.e., *siri* reminds us of the names of the *Mahāsenapatis* figuring in the Ikshvāku inscriptions, viz., Mahā-Kaṁdasiri (Mahā-Skandaśrī) and Veṇhusiri (Vishṇuśrī).[1] Even some of the Ikshvāku names like Bapisiri, Chathisiri, Chantisiri and Hammasiri had identical endings.[2] We may, therefore, tentatively conclude that Mahāsenāpati Janaśrī, known from the excavation at Adam, was a native of the Andhra region since names of Mahāsenāpatis ending with *siri* were more heard of in the lower Krishṇā valley than in other parts of the Deccan.

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1 J. Ph. Vogel, *op.cit.*, pp. 4, 5, 19-21.

2 D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939, p. 22.

No. 11—GUṆṬUPALLI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA NANDIVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

S. Sankaranarayanan, Madras

Guṇṭupalli (a hamlet of the village Jilakarragudem, in the Chintalapudi Taluk, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) and its Buddhist site and epigraphs are fairly well known to the scholars through the writings of Robert Sewell,[1] Alexander Rea,[2] A. Longhurst,[3] R. Subramanyam,[4] D.C. Sircar[5], I. Karthikeya Sarma[6] P.R. Srinivasan[7] and the present writer[8] too. The subjoined inscription was discovered along with other early epigraphs by I.K. Sharma in 1976 and it has been illustrated twice[9] and has been registered as B 44 of *A.R. Ep.* 1977-78. But the text of the record still remains unpublished and its contents are yet to be examined thoroughly. Hence, I requested Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, for a photograph of the record for my study. However, being a scholar of liberal outlook, Dr. K.V. Ramesh gave me both a good inked impression and a good photograph of an estampage and advised me to edit it in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I thank Dr. Ramesh for giving me this honour. I learn that the estampages of the record have been prepared by the Epigraphist Office under the able supervision of Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist of that office.

The present epigraph is engraved on what is said to be a big quadrangled pillar, discovered near the caves (*stūpa* site) in the monastery area at Guṇṭupalli. It consists of twenty three lines incised on one of the sides of the pillar just below a Brāhmi inscription of the first century A.D., that had already been edited by scholars.[10] The passage of centuries has been very unkind only to our epigraph. Hence, none of the lines of it is fully preserved. That is to say, the right end of the record is broken off and lost. However, it is possible to

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1 R. Sewell, 'Buddhist Remains at Guṇṭupalli' in J.R.A.S. (G.B. & I), Vol. XIX (1887), pp. 508-11.

2 A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities : Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, No. XV, Madras, 1894.

3 A.H. Longhurst, 'The Buddhist Monuments at Guṇṭupalli in Krishna District' in *A.R.A.Sc.*, 1916-17, pp. 30-35. In those days Guṇṭupalli was included in the Krishna district.

4 The Guṇṭupalli Brāhmi Inscription of Khāravēla, *A.P.G.A.S.* No. 3(1968) and plates.

5 *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. III (1969-70), pp. 30 ff. and plate.

6 "Epigraphical Discoveries at Guṇṭupalli", *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. V (Mysore, 1976), pp. 48 ff. and plates.

7 "Some Brāhmi Inscriptions from Guṇṭupalli" Above, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 274 ff. and plates.

8 'Guṇṭupalli Pillar Inscriptions of Siri Sada," *S.V.U.O.J.*, Vol. XIX (Tirupati, 1976), pp. 53 ff. and plate.

9 I.e., by Dr. I.K. Sarma and by Sri P.R. Srinivasan. Of their facsimiles the one given by the former is good.

10 See notes 6 and 7 above.

have a fairly correct idea of what has been lost. The estampage available with me contains also the impression of the above mentioned early inscription. On the basis of the length of the lines of this epigraph, it is possible to surmise that the length of the lines of our present inscription must have been originally 38 cm. even though now it is shorter. That is to say, a portion of two cm in length has been broken off and lost at the end of lines 1-4, resulting in the loss of two or three letters in each of these lines. The loss of letters at the end of lines is progressively more in the subsequent lines. Consequently the length of the last two lines is only 22 cm., 14 or 15 letters being lost at their ends. Again, from the tenth line onwards one or two letters are chipped off and lost also in the beginnings of the lines. Further, from the same line downwards the right half of the extant portion and also the major portions of lines 18-20 are very much effaced. Thus, the present record is lamentably very fragmentary. Yet, one may feel happy that nothing has been lost above or below the extant portion. Therefore, it is certain that the record contained only 23 lines occupying an area of 38 cm (in width) by 61 cm (in height) on one of the four sides of the pillar, individual lines containing about 23 to 25 *aksharas* each. Thus the extent or volume of the original text seems to have been around 24 or 25 granthas.[1]

The **characters** of the record belong to what the epigraphists usually label as the box-headed type of the Southern Class of Brāhmī. They are assignable to a period that intervened the time of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Pillar inscription of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta[2] (last part of the third century A.D.) on the one hand and the Vēlpūru Pillar inscription of Vishṇukuṇḍi Mādhavavarman[3] (last quarter of the fifth century). And they are exactly the same as those found on the Peda-Vēgī plates of Nandivarman II,[4] who, as we shall see a little later, issued the present record also. In fact the alphabets of both these records stand favourable comparison with those of the Vala inscription of Bhōja Sukētuvarman dated in Śaka 322[5] (400 A.D.). However, the box-heads of the letters in the present record are less conspicuous than those found in the Vala epigraph. The engraving in our record is so clear and beautiful that even in its pitiably fragmentary condition, the epigraph stands witness to the great care the engraver had taken in executing his work.

The **language** of the text of the record is simple, but elegant Sanskrit prose marked with a small dose of *ōjas* (*samāsa-bhūyastva*, 'richness of compounds'). The prose text of the main part of the grant is followed by four benedictory and imprecatory verses, all in

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1 A *grantha* is a unit of 32 *aksharas* or the extent of one verse in *Anushṭubh*. Thus our present record proves to be the lengthiest of the known records of the Śālaṅkāyanas. For, the volume of the texts of other known records of the dynasty seems never to exceed 12 or 15 *granthas*.

2 Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff. and plate.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 125 ff. and plate. See also S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishnukundis and Their Times (VII)* (Delhi, 1977), p. 13.

4 *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pt. 2, plates between pp. 94-95.

5 Above, Vol. XL, plate facing p. 53.

Anushṭubh. The composition is clear and the expressions are direct.. We find here no abnormal compounds, obscuring the idea which the author wanted to convey. Thus, like the engraver, the composer of the record has also done his job satisfactorily.

With regard to the **language** of the record we have to bear in mind two more important points—one is particular in nature and the other, general. Coming to the former point it may be noted that the tempo of the language and the format of the text of our record very closely correspond to the those of the known Sanskrit copper-plate charters of the Śālaṅkāyana kings. Hence, one is tempted to conclude that the present stone-inscription must be a verbatim copy of a *rājaśāsana* or royal copper-plate charter issued by Nandivarman II in favour of the donees (i.e., the monks of the Buddhist monastery as we shall see soon); and that these donees got the original *rājaśāsana* copied on a pillar in the monastery of theirs, obviously with a view to preserve the royal order in a more stable and durable medium, as the copper-plates are likely to be lost. This conclusion gets support from the record itself speaking of a charter issued by the king (*paṭṭikā dattā*) as is the case in all the copper-plate charters of the family. Stone-inscriptions being copies of *rājaśāsanas* or copper plate charters is not new to Indian epigraphy. For the earlier age we have the example of the Nāsik cave inscriptions of the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, dated in his regnal years 18 and 24 (1st century A.D.) which are copies of the original *rājaśāsana*, which are spoken of in those inscriptions themselves as *paṭṭikā*[1] and *nibhandha*.[2] Coming to the later age too we have instances like the Konnūr Paramēśvara temple inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amōghavarsha I, dated Śaka 782 (860 A.D.) claiming to be a copy of the king's copper-plate charter.[3]

Regarding the second and general aspect of the language of our record, we may bear in mind an important fact. As we shall see soon, the record under study belongs to the time of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II, i.e., the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. It was exactly during his time that Sanskrit replaced Prakrit once for all in the field of epigraphy in coastal Andhra in particular and in South India in general. It is noteworthy that all the known charters of Nandivarman II and the charter of his successor Skandavarman are in Sanskrit only (see below). All the charters of the predecessor of Nandivarman II including the Dhārikaṭūra grant[4] of Nandivarman's father Achaṇḍavarman (the only record of his known so far) are in Prakrit. No doubt Sanskrit had appeared in a few inscriptions of the time

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1 I.e., as in our present record. See above, Vol. VIII, p. 71, text line 6.

2 I.e., as in the Dharmaśāstras. See *ibid*., Vol. VIII, p. 73, text line 12. See also D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), pp. 108-09.

3 See above, Vol. VI, pp. 25 ff; particularly p. 29, para. 2. cf. *tāmra-śāsanam nōḍi bareyisim*, *ibid*., p. 34, text line 34. One finds it difficult to completely agree with the view that this Rāshṭrakūṭa record is a spurious one. cf., *ibid*., p. 27.

4 Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff., and plates.

of the Ikshvākus of the Guṇṭūr region[1] (3rd century A.D.). Yet, undoubtedly it was Prakrit that was employed in the very vast majority of the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus and of those who succeeded them in coastal Andhra viz., the Bṛihatphalāyanas, the Ānandas, the Early Pallavas and the Śālaṅkāyanas, till the time of Nandivarman II.

This process of changing from Prakrit completely over to Sanskrit started in North India a little earlier, i.e., during the time of Samudragupta, who is generally viewed[2] as a contemporary of Hastivarman Śālaṅkāyana, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II, the issuer of the present charter. Now, if one chooses to compare the elegant poetic language of the Sanskrit inscriptions of the early Guptas, like the Allahabad *Praśasti*,[3] etc., on the one hand and the colourless prose of the Prakrit records of the last phase of the Prakrit age, such as the Hirahaḍagaḷḷi[4] and Mayidavōlu[5] charters of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, the Bāsim plates of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti,[6] etc., on the other, one cannot easily escape the conclusion that it was the ardent desire for poetry on the part of the kings of the age and of their favourite court poets that must have been mainly responsible for this change-over in medium.[7] May be the poetic genius of Prakrit, the fragrance of which one enjoys in the Nāsik inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas, mentioned above, somehow decayed during the age of their immediate successors.

Now, because the Prakrit epigraphs gave way once for all to Sanskrit inscriptions in coastal Andhra in the South, during Nandivarman's time, it will be beneficial if we could pay a little more attention, than we usually do in studying epigraphs, to the literary and poetic aspect of the language of the present record. This we will do while studying the contents of the record. Indeed the simple but elegant style of the language of our record seems to supply to the students of the history of Sanskrit prose-poetry style and rhetoric , a useful connecting link between the fourth century A.D. in the North and the less picturesque but beautiful style of the Vishṇukuṇḍi inscriptions of the 5th-6th centuries in coastal Andhra, a style which was followed the strikingly florid style of the Sanskrit epigraphs of the Pallavas and the Chalukyas of the South in the 6th-7th centuries.

The **orthographical** peculiarities found in our record are the following : The medial i and ī are not always distinguished. Of the consonants preceding r, m alone (not other

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1 See for example the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Sanskrit inscriptions of Ehavala Chantamula : Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 149; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 19 ff; Vol. XXXV, pp. 12 ff.

2 *The Classical Age (CA): Hist. and Culture of Ind. People (HICP)*, (ed. R.C. Majumdar, etc.), (1962), p. 204; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India (HSI)* (II ed., 1988), p. 105.

3 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions (FGI)*, pp. 6 ff.

4 Above, Vol. I, pp. 1, ff.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff.

6 *CII.*, Vo. V, pp. 96 ff.

7 Another factor might have been also the precision the Sanskrit language had already attained over and above Prakrit. That was perhaps one of the reasons why the Buddhist writers, logicians and theologians too step by step had switched over to Sanskrit in their writing abandoning Pāli and Prakrit, preferred by the earlier Buddhists.

consonants) is doubled as in tammra (line 1).[1] All the consonants, following *r*, including *sh* (see *varshshinō*, line 12) and *varshsha* (line 21) are doubled.[2] The *parasavarṇa* rules (the rules of homogeneity) governing the euphonic conjunction of *anusvāra* with the next consonant are observed correctly not only within the unit words like *Vēṅgī* (line 1), *chaṇḍa-daṇḍa* (line 7), etc., but also at the end of the words *(padānta)* as in *paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na* (line 22), according to the rules.[3] The *upadhmānīya* is employed in *sandhi* in —*pādabhaktaḥ=parama-* (line 8); and palatal ś is preferred to *visarga* in the *sandhis* like—*yaśaś-śarīrasya* (line 2) and- *bhagavataś=Śālaṅkāyana-* (line 8).

The text also contains some words of **lexical interest** like *bhagavat-Tāmmra* (line 1), "the god of rising Sun with coppery red colour" ; *kaṁmman* (line 2) "object or result of an action"; *mahārāja* (line 3) "god Kubera"; *rasa* (line 3) "desire, craving"; *daśabala* (line 10) "ten-fold power"; *akshullaka* (line 12) "great"; *shashṭhēndriya* (line 11) "the sixth or internal organ, mind".

The present epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II and it contains his royal edict issued from the victorious city (capital) of Vēṅgī. The **object** of the edict was to grant a village or lands in a village, with certain privileges and immunities, in favour of the inmates of the Buddhist monastery, i.e., the one at Guṇṭupalli, from the site of which the present pillar inscription comes. The edict seems to be dated in the king's fourth regnal year mentioned as *saṁ 4* standing for *saṁvatsarē chaturthē*. The year four is expressed by a *ta*-like symbol with two antennas. What we have here may represent,a stage in the evolution of *ka*-with two antennas, developing into *pta* and *pka* all standing for 4.[4] Again, what we are inclined to read as *saṁ* before 4 looks more or less like a symbol for 40, occurring elsewhere in epigraphs.[5] Hence, it is even probable that the epigraph is dated in the 44th year of the king.

The Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II is already known to us from his own two copper-plate charters, viz., the Kollēru (Kolair) plates of year 7[6] and the Peda-Vēgi plates of year 10.[7] The chronological scheme of the Śālaṅkāyana kings, as worked out last by D.C. Sircar, while editing the Dhārikāṭūra grant, assigns this Nandivarman II to c. 400-30 A.D.,[8] and the palaeography of our present record goes well with that date.

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1 But see also note under the word in the text. The doubling of this type is optional. See the grammatical rule *an-achicha* (*PA*, 8.4.47).

2 *I.e.*, as per the rule *achō ra-hābhyāṁ dvē* (*PA*,8.4.46). But this is also an optional rule.

3 *I.e.*, *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* and *vā padāntasya* (*PA*, 8.4.58-59).

4 See, the symbols for 4 in G.H. Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Rpt. 1971), plate LXXI(A).

5 cf. *ibid.*, plate LXXIII(A), symbol for *40*

6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff. and plates.

7 *Op.cit.*

8 Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 4 . Probably this is the last attempt of D.C. Sircar to reconstruct the Śālaṅkāyana chronology.

We have suggested above that the epigraph must have been a copy of a *rājaśāsana* or a royal copper-plate charter. Hence, just as in the case of the copper-plate charters in general, the contents of the present record also fall into three sections, namely (1) the preamble (lines 1-9), (2) the royal decree proper (lines 10-29); and (3) the conclusion (lines 20-23). Here the preamble commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* (Hail), and it is followed by the reference to the place of issue of the charter, viz., the victorious city Veṅgīpura. The students of South Indian history and epigraphy are aware that all the copper-plate charters of the Śalaṅkāyana kings had been issued from the same city which was their royal capital and is the same as the modern Peda-Vegi near Ellore (also written Ēlūru) in the West Godavari District. Then the preamble introduces the ruling monarch Nandivarman II as the great-grandson of Hastivarman (line 4), as the grandson of Nandivarman I (line 5) and as the son of Achandavarman (line 7). The author describes Nandivarman II and his three predecessors by employing three or more epithets for each. Here it may be observed that all these epithets are conventional in nature and none of them speaks of any specific political or military achievements of any of these kings. Yet, they are, as we shall see presently, unique in their own way. It is obvious that the author of our record preferred to remain as a poet rather than to act as a chronicler. Hence, to do justice to this early Sanskrit epigraph of South India is to evaluate it first as a literary piece.

The preamble describes Hastivarman in lines 1-4. Though the first two *aksharas* of his name are lost at the end of fourth line, it is not difficult to restore them with the help of the already known charters of Nandivarman II, mentioned above. Hastivarman's first epithet describes him, by means of a double dose of metaphor, as the very Moon, shining on the clear sky of the family of Śalaṅka. From the *gaṇasūtra* of Pāṇini under his rule 4.1.99,[1] we could surmise that Śalaṅka must have been the sage-founder of the *gōtra* Śālaṅkāyana. This *gōtra*-name is found as an adjective of the donor monarchs invariably in all the Śālaṅkāyana charters including the present one. And we have actually the expression *Śālaṅkāyana-sagōttō* (=Skt. *Śālankāyana-sagōtraḥ)* as an epithet of Achaṇḍavarman.[2] The present charter is the only record to give us the stem of the said derivatives.[3] But in the *Mahābhārata*,[4] Śālaṅkāyana figures a a famous sage among the founders of Brahmin families or *gōtras* who were the sons of Kauśika Viśvāmitra.

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1 *I.e., naḍ-ādibhyaḥ phak.*

2 I.e., the Dhāṅkāṭūra grant, *op. cit.*

3 See Monier-Williams : *A Skt. Eng. Dict.* (II ed.), s.v. Śālaṅkāyana.

4 cf. .... *Viśvāmitrō mahātapāḥ* |............*tasya putrā mahātmānō brahma-vaṁśa-vivarddhakāḥ* | ....*tathā khyātaḥ Śālaṅkāyana ēva cha-* (*Anuśāsana*; Critical ed., Poona 1966 : Ch. 3, verses 46, 47, 51). Some MSS read *Sālaṅkāyana.* The old Calcutta ed. reads *Śālaṅghāyana.* The *Matsya* (ch. 145, verse 113) and the *Vāyu* (ch. 97, verse 3) *Purāṇas* (both Anandasrama ed.) include *Śālaṅkāyana* among the Kauśika - Viśvāmitras. For more details see D.C. Sircar : *Successors of the Śātavāhanas* (*Journ. Dept. of Letters*, University of Calcutta, Vol. XXVI, 1935), p. 76.

The last epithet of Hastivarman reads *Dharmma-mahārāja* signifying "a *mahārāja*, a mighty king, who loves (or whose main aims are) meritorious acts".[1] The same title or the more ambitious ones *dharmma-mahādhirāja dharmma-mahārājādhirāja* were borne by the Vākaṭaka king Vindhyaśakti and his father Śarvasēna, by the Pallava Śivaskandavarmman of the Prakrit charters, and by the early Kadamba Kaṅgavarman - all more or less of the age of Hastivarman. The authors of the records of those kings seem to justify these royal titles by citing the great vedic sacrifices like *Aśvamēdha, Vājapēya*, etc., those kings claim to have performed.[2] But the author of our Guṇṭupalli inscription seems to follow a slightly different path of justifying such claim of his hero. He adds four adjectives to Hastivarmman in defence of his claim.

The first of these four says that Hastivarmman had acquired a body made of fame that was purified by many and varied meritorious things he created such as the *chāturvvaidyaśālās, Vishṇugrihas* and also perhaps *Śivagrihas* - all fresh (*nava*) - besides by performing acts of Dharma. Of these enumerated four items the *chāturvvaidyaśālās* signify the *paṭhaśālās* or schools where the four Vēdas were taught. The grammarians recognize *chāturvvaidya* in the sense of the student of the four Vēdas.[3] We have also epigraphs of later times where *śālā* is used to denote a *paṭhaśāla* or college where the Vēdas were taught to the students hailing from different parts of the country.[4] In the present Guṇṭupalli inscription we have perhaps the earliest epigraphical reference to the establishment of *chāturvvaidyaśālās*. The *chāturvaidyas* or the students or masters of the four Vēdas figure as the donees in both the Kanukollu plates of Śālaṅkayana Nandivarman I (the grandfather of Nandivarman II of our record) and of Skandavarman (a successor of Nandivarman II).[5]

It seems that the *chāturvaidyaśālās* of the succeeding ages came to be often designated as *ghaṭikās* on account of the ingenious mode of examinations they conducted for testing the

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1 The *vigraha* intended here is *dhammma-priyaḥ dharmma-pradhānaḥ vā mahārājaḥ* of the *śāka-pārthiva*-type. Cf. *PA*,2.1.60.

2 See CA, pp. 272, 358, 360-61.

3 cf. *chatur-vēdasy=ōbhaya-pada-vṛiddhiś=cha* (*Gaṇasūtra* 93) : *chaturō vēdān adhītē chaturvēdaḥ, sa ēva chāturvvaidyaḥ* in Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita's *Siddhāntakaumudi* under *PA*, 7.3.31.

4 cf. *Śālā Manōvat=tv-aishā brahmayuktā virājatē* ।
atra vidyārthinaḥ santi nānājanapad-ōdbhavāḥ ॥
in the Sālotgi Pillar inscriptions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III (945 A.D.) : Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60-61. Here *śālā brahmayuktā* connotes a school or college where *brahman* i.e. , the Vēdas are taught. Cf. *vēdas tattvam tapō brahma* of the *Amarakōśa*. cf. Above, Vol. V, p. 63.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 4 ff., and pp. 9 ff. Here in these two records expressions denoting the names of the donees are *Rathakāra-chāturvaidya* and agrahāra-*Rathakāra-chāturvaidya*. The editor of these records had some misconceptions about the meaning of the term *rathakāra*. This word sems to have been used here primarily as the personal name of the brahmin donee himself, and secondarily as the name of an *agrahāra* donated to a brahmin named Rathakāra. cf. *Rathakārō nāma Brāhmaṇaḥ* in Jayaditya Vamana's *Kāśikāvṛitti* and Bhattoji's *Siddhāntakaumudi* under *PA*, 6.2.77 *saṁjñāyam cha* .

proficiency of scholars. Many kings of ancient South India claimed to have established such *ghaṭikās* (i.e., *chaturvaidyaśālās*) and to have attained, by that means, unique merit.[1] In his famous *Dānakhaṇḍa* of the *chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Hēmādri quotes very ancient authorities to the effect that of all the gifts, the gift *brahmadāna* or imparting Vēdic knowledge is the highest and that by making this gift one gets great merit by which one could attain *Brahmalōka* (the regions of the god Brahmā) from which one never returns (*avichyutaḥ*).[2] The same compiler of the *dharmaśāstras* also cites authorities of yore extolling gifts to the deities Śiva, Vishṇu, etc., enshrined in the *maṇḍapas*. There it is said that by giving such gifts one could achieve merits of all the *yajñas* (Vedic sacrifices) and could enjoy whatever one wants, and above all one could attain total liberation.[3]

In this context it may be noted that making these gifts amounts to give religion to the people and teaching the Vēdas and spreading the Vēdic culture. That is why these gifts are praised so high. But in ancient India excepting brahmins, no one, not even a king, could give religion to any or teach the Vēdas, particularly the *karmakāṇḍa* parts of them. But the kings, and others too, could do all these indirectly by building temples of different gods and by establishing schools for Vēdic studies. Secondly, only by creating and maintaining such institutions a king could infuse culture into his subjects and this is what is called *prajānāṁ vinayadhana* and it was believed to be the bounden duty of every king of ancient India, as the poet Kālidāsa suggests while describing his ideal hero-king Dilipa.[4]

The author of our record tells us that the temples and the Vedic schools which Hastivarman established were new (*nava*). This probably suggests that there had been already some (or many) such institutions in the region to which Hastivarman added some new ones. From some of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions we come to know that the Ikshvākus and others had already established, in the coastal region of Āndhra, temples of Śiva, Vishṇu, Kārttikēya, etc.[5]

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1 cf. *Chāturvaidyam avīviśat sva-ghaṭikāṁ bhūdēvatā- bhaktitaḥ* in the Kaśākkuḍi plates of Nandivarman, *SII*, Vol. II, p. 349, verse 25. Also see *VTT*, pp. 236 ff.

2 cf. *Sarvēshāṁ ēva dānānāṁ brahma-dānaṁ viśishyatē* | etc., and *sarvadharma-mayaṁ brahma pradānēbhyō=dhikam yataḥ tad=dadat samavāpnōti brahmalōkam avichyuta* || Hemadri uses *Brahmadānam* as a synonym of *Vēdadānam*. See Hemadri's *Dānakhāṇḍa* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, ed., Calcutta, 1873) p. 517.

3 cf. *Ēvaṁ kṛitēna labhatē sarvayajña-phalaṁ naraḥ* |

sarvan kāmān avāpnōti nirvāṇaṁ chādhigachchhati ||

ibid., pp. 779 f.

4 cf. *Prajānāṁ vinay-ādhānāt*.........*sa pitā*......... *Raghuvaṁśa*, 1.24.

5 See Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 149 f.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 19 f, 202 ff.; Vol. XXXV, p. 6 f.

It is also said that Hastivarman performed certain *dharmas* 'meritorious acts' besides establishing the above temples and the Vedic schools.[1] It is not specified what those acts were. However, in view of the fact that the kings who belonged to the age of Hastivarman had, like him, the title *dharmmamahārāja* and justified the same, as we had shown above, by alluding to their performance of great sacrifices, we may here too identify the unspecified *dharmmas* of Hastivarman with the performance of such sacrifices, great and small, as enjoined in the Vēdas. For, the word is understood in the ancient Indian tradition primarily in the sense of the sacrifices enjoined.[2] It is also said, in the epithet, that Hastivarmman performed the above mentioned meritorious acts out of his devotion to the god named "Tāmra". (*bhagavat-Tāmmra-bhaktyā kṛita* ......). Here we find an echo of the famous *bhakti-yōga* concept propounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*.[3]

It is not easy to identify the god named *Tāmra*, to whom Hastivarman is said to have been devoted. For, in the entire well-known pantheon of ancient and medieval India we do not find any god bearing the name *Tāmra*. Perhaps we may have to take this name in its etymological-cum-conventional sense (*yōgarūḍha*) to mean "the god having coppery red colour". In the Purāṇic and in the Tantra literature, the Mother Goddess is described to be bright red in colour like the *sindūra*-flower (*sindūrāruṇavigrahām*).[4] The god of the planet Mars, called *Aṅgāraka*, is said to be bloody red in colour[5] and the god Kumāra Kārttikēya to be red-bodied.[6] But in the expression *bhagavat-Tāmra*, the word *Tāmra* seems to constitute a name rather than a mere adjective; and this excludes the probability of a reference here to the said deities. Now it may be noted that in the *Śatarudrīya* chapter of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* the God Rudra Śiva is found described first as *tāmra* i.e., in the form of the just Rising Sun (*asau yas tāmraḥ*)[7] and the Vēda then pays homage to that God Tāmra (*namas Tāmrāya cha*).[8] In this context it may be noted that the *Bōdhāyana-gṛihyasūtra* describes the Sun God himself as Īśvara i.e., Rudra Śiva (*Īśvaraṁ Bhāskaraṁ vidyāt*).[9] And the

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1 For the *vigraha* of this compound word under study see the note on the same in the text.

2 cf. the Mīmāṁsā philosopher Jaimini's definition *Chōdanā-lakshaṇaḥ arthaḥ dharmaḥ* (*Pūrvamīmāṁsa sūtra* 1.1.2) "what is enjoined in the Vēdas as means for attaining desired results is *dharmma*".

3 *Mad-artham api karmāṇi kurvan siddhim avāpsyasi* | (12.10);
yat karōshi. yaj=juhōshi dadāsi yat |
Yat tapasyasi Kauntēya tat kurushva mad-arppaṇam || (9.27)

4 The famous *dhyāna-ślōka* of Lalitā-Tripurasundarī.

5 cf. *Dharāsutaṁ...raktakāñchana-saṅkāśam* in the *Bōdhāyanīya-Gṛihyasūtra* (ed. L. Srinivasacharya, Mysore, 1904), p. 197, Vv. 7-8.

6 cf. *Kumāraṁ Śaktihastaṁ* lōhitāṅgam, *ibid.*, verse 12.

7 *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 4.5.1. *mantra* 7. This *mantra*, with slight variations is also found in the *Kāṇva*, *Maitrāyaṇīya*, *Vājasanēya* and *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitās*.

8 *Taittirīya* Saṁhitā, 4.5.7, *yajus*, 2.

9 *Bōdhāyanīya Gṛihyasūtra* (*op. cit.*), p. 195.

Bhagavadgītā too tells us that the ideal sage would meditate on the Supreme who is coloured like the Sun, just going beyond the darkness, i.e., the Sun, just rising.[1] One more thing to be noted here is that : Basing on some other grounds, scholars have already suggested that the tutelary deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas was the Sun God and their bull-crest is indicative of their general Śaiva affiliations even though individual kings of the family worshipped Śiva or Vishṇu.[2] Thus, by the present epithet, the poet author of our present record most probably intends to portray the hero Hastivarman as a person devoted to *bhagavat-Tāmra*, i.e., Rudra Śiva in the form of the Rising Sun.So, when we could thus appreciate the poet in this manner, we need not find fault with him for employing an obscure word like *Tāmra* instead of well known synonyms like *Sūrya, Rudra, Śiva*, etc.

The expression *bhagavat-Tāmrabhaktyā*, etc. in our record indeed recalls to our mind the phrase *bhaktyā bhagavataḥ Śambhōr=guhām ētām akārayat*,[3] a description of Vīrasēna, an officer of the imperial Gupta king Chandragupta II in the Udayagiri Cave inscription (401 A.D., i.e., the age to which Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman belonged) ; and also the description *bhaktyā bhagavataḥ Śambhōḥ ...... sthāpitam Chitrasēnēna liṅgam*, etc., in a Cambodian inscription (7th century A.D.).[4] Here it must also be noted that in our present inscription too a reading like *bhagavat-Śambhubhaktyā kṛita-* etc., is not altogether an impossibility.[5] On top of all this what is very significant is the fact the Dravidian linguists compare *Śambhu*, the well-known epithet or name of Rudra Śiva with *chembu* or *śembu*, a Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit *tāmra*, 'copper'.[6]

Some three syllables in the middle of the next epithet of Hastivarman are lost. Yet, one can be certain that the epithet describes him as one who had won a complete victory over the cravings for the wordly sense-objects of manifold varieties. This epithet reminds us of the *Bhagavadgītā* passages describing the *sthitaprajña* (the man of steady wisdom) as "one who would withdraw his sense-organs completely from the sense-objects, just as the tortoise does its limbs",[7] and as "one whose craving for sense-objects has disappeared after he has realised the Supreme".[8] Thus the epithets we have studied so far depict Hastivarman as a king with saintly disposition.

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1 cf. *anusmarēd .... Āditya-varṇam tamasaḥ parastāt* (*Bhagavadgītā*, 8, 9).

2 *CA*, pp. 205-06; *HSI*, p. 105. See also below.

3 *FGI*, p. 35, verse 5.

4 See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 112.

5 See the note on the concerned word in the text.

6 *HCIP* Vol. I : The Vedic Age (1965), p. 164.

7 cf. *yadā saṁharatē chāyaṁ kūrmō=ṅgān=iva sarvataḥ* | *indriyāṇ=indriyārthēbhyas=tasya prajñā pratishṭhitā* || (*Bhagavadgītā*, 2.58)

8 cf. *Rasavarjaṁ rasō=py-asya paraṁ dṛishṭvā nivartatē* | *ibid.*, 2.59.

In the next epithet, the poet, by employing a simile (*upamālaṅkāra*), describes Hastivarman as a person gifting away wealth just as *Mahārāja* does. Who was this person referred to as *Mahārāja* who was an ideal person well-known for his liberality? Certainly the poet could not have used *mahārāja* merely as a common noun meaning "a great or mighty ruler". For, as shown above, Hastivarman himself was a *mahārāja* (rather *dharmamahārāja*); and the figure of speech 'simile' employed here demands that the subject of comparison (*upamēya*) must be different from the object of comparison (*upamāna*).[1] Hence, it is imperative that we should treat the word *Mahārāja* as a name or an epithet-cum-name of an individual, who had been acknowledged in the poetic tradition as a person noted for his liberality. So, let us turn to Sanskrit literature for help. A magical formula (*mantra*) in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* invokes the god Vaiśravaṇa Kubēra, the mythical lord of all the wealths (*dhanādhipa*) and of the Northern direction (*uttaradikpāla*) and praises him by epithet-cum-names such as *Rājādhirāja* 'overlord of the kings', *Kāmēśvara* 'the lord fulfilling all (our) desires' and *Mahārāja* 'the great or mighty king'.[2] In Sanskrit classical tradition also Kubēra is well-known as a great king, worthy to be compared with. The universally acknowledged first classical poet (*ādikavi*) Vālmīki describes—through the mouth of Hanumān—his hero Rāma as a king of the entire universe, like Kubēra-Vaiśravaṇa.[3] The sag- poet Vyāsa too recognises Vaiśravaṇa-Kubēra as the best among kings, just as Uchchaiś-śravas, the horse of Indra is among the horses.[4] Similarly, as a generous giver of wealth, Kubēra is proverbial.[5] His exclusive adjective or another typical name *dhananda* itself signifies that he is, according to the tradition, the bestower of wealth. That is why the most bountiful hero of the *Mahābhārata*, viz., Karṇa, is praised as a born bestower of wealth like Vaiśravaṇa-Kubēra.[6] The uniqueness of Kubēra's liberality is that he bestows wealth much more than what is requested for. Hence, in his *Kādambarī*, Bāṇa compares his hero Śūdraka with Dhanada Kubēra in making gifts.[7] The well-known Raghu-Kautsa episode in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa details how

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1 *Eg.*, in the well-known simile *chandra iva mukham* "the face is (pleasing) like the Moon", the face is different from the Moon. In the context of the epithet under examination, one should not think of the figure of speech *ananvayālaṅkāra*, in which the object of comparison is compared with its own ideal, just as *indur indur iva śrīmān* "the Moon is pleasant like the Moon".

2 cf. *Rājādhirājāya…namō vayaṁ vaiśravaṇāya*
kurmahē …kāmēśvaro Vaiśravaṇō dadātu |
Kubērāya …mahārājāya namaḥ |
Tai. Āraṇyaka 1.32. *daśinī* 6.

3 cf. *Rājā sarvasya lōkasya dēvō Vaiśravaṇō yathā* (in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* (VR) (Madras, 1958), *Sundarakāṇḍa*, 43.29.

4 cf. *Uchchaiśśravā varō=śvānāṁ rājñāṁ Vaiśravaṇō varaḥ* in the *Mahābhārata* (MB) *Karṇaparvan* (Poona, 1954), 5.21.

5 E.W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Delhi, 1986), p. 144.

6 cf. *bālyād vasu tvam tyajasi dēvō Vaiśravaṇō yathā*, *MB*, *op. cit.*, 27.19. *Vasu* 'wealth'.

7 cf. *prasādē Dhanadēna*. The commentator adds-*saṁhit-ādhika-pradānāt*. See the *Kādambarī* with comm. (NSP, 1948), p. 4.

the hero Raghu thought of going on an expedition to Kubēra for getting 14 crores of gold for the sake of the scholar-bachelor-sage Kautsa; how even before he started, Kubēra poured, in the royal treasury, gold much more than the said amount; and how the liberal Raghu too compelled the unwilling bachelor to receive the entire amount Kubēra had poured.[1] Thus it is certain that following the classical Sanskrit poetic tradition the author of the present record describes Hastivarman, in the present epithet, as a liberal giver of wealth like Mahārāja Kubēra.

The last epithet of Hastivarman reads *bhūpati-sattama.* This should be normally taken to mean "the best among the rulers of the earth." However, Sanskrit lexicographers, like Amarasiṁha, recognise *san* as a synonym of *vidvān* "the learned one". Hence, the present epithet may as well mean "the most learned among the kings". In the ancient Indian literary tradition, the heroes of poems are always described as masters of many branches of learning. In this aspect the authors of the epigraphs of ancient India did not lag behind. Thus Chēdi Mahāmēghavāhana Khāravēla (1st century B.C.) is described as one glowing with the knowledge of all sciences.[2] The *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman I (2nd century A.D.) is praised to have attained proficiency in grammar, economics, music, Nyāyaśāstra, etc.[3] The Śātavāhana king Puḷumāvi (2nd century A.D.) claims to be an abode of traditional literature.[4] Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) is said to have earned the title *kavirāja* "a king among poets" on the basis of his poetic compositions.[5] The Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (4th century A.D.) claims to have learnt Vēdas by serving well in the *guru-kulas.*[6] An epithet of the Bhañja king Śatrubhañja (6th century A.D.) depicts him as a master of subjects like the *Mahābhārata, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Vyākaraṇa, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Chhandas, Śruti, Buddhaprakaraṇas,* etc.[7] Therefore, one need not hesitate to accept the second interpretation of the present epithet. It may be recalled that Rājēndra Chōḷa (11th century A.D.) had the title *Paṇḍita-Chōḷa* "the learned Chōḷa", and this title of his has been justified on the basis of the monarch's liberal provisions for the Vedic college at Eṇṇāyiram.[8] As we saw above Hastivarman also had established *chāturvaidyaśālās* or Vēdic Colleges.

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1 See the *Raghuvaṁśa*, 5.25 ff; particularly the description *nripō='rthikāmād adhika-pradaś=cha*, verse 31.

2 cf. *sarvva-vidyāvadātēna* in the Hāthigumphā inscription : above, Vol. XX, p. 72, line 2. We give hereinafter the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of the Prakrit original.

3 cf. *śabda-artha-gāndharva-Nyāyādyānāṁ vidyānāṁ mahatīnāṁ vijñāna-prayōgāvāpta-vipula-kīrttinā* in the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription (*op. cit.*), text line 13.

4 cf. *āgamānāṁ nilayasya* in the Nāsik cave inscription : above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, text line 27.

5 cf. *anēka-kāvya-kriyābhiḥ pratishṭhita-kavirājaśabdasya* in the Allahabad *praśasti* : FGI., pp. 6 ff., text line 27.

6 cf. *guru-kulāni samyag ārādhya* in the Tāḷagunda inscription :above, Vol. VIII, p. 32, text line 4.

7 See the Asanapaṭ Inscription of the king : *ibid.*, Vol. XL, pp. 12 ff., text lines 11-12.

8 See R. Sathianathaier, *A Political and Cultural History of India*, Vol. I : *Ancient India* (Madras, 1952), p. 387; above, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 223 ff.

Hastivarman's son Nandivarman I is described by the poet by some three epithets in lines 4-5. Of them the third one praises him as a benefactor of, or as one favourable to, his subjects (*prajānāṁ hitakara*),[1] while the other two seem to justify this claim of his. One of the two declares that the chief life-aim of the king is (two-fold), intense mercy towards all (*day-ānukampā-parāyaṇa*).[2] This *dayānukampā*, a strong dose of mercy, is considered to be one of the chief characteristics of the *dhīrōdātta* or the brave-and-noble-minded hero of classical Sanskrit poems.[3] And the other epithet of Nandivarman I (of which a few letters in the middle are lost) seems to tell us that the king gifted away gold, cows, land and live trees in large numbers, and that he thereby earned merit (*anēka-śatasahasra-hiraṇya-gō-bhū-jīvataru-pradānārjita-dharma*). The gift of gold, cows and land are very well known from many inscriptions[4] and from the *Dharmaśāstra* literature.[5] But the reference to the gift of live trees is rather rare. However, Hēmādri, whom we had already referred to, allots a separate section called *Vṛikshadānavidhi* where he quotes great ancient sages prescribing, for varios merits and benefits, the gifts of different trees, like *sahakāra, aśvattha, jambū, nyagrōdha, kadalī, chūta, tāla*, etc.[6] That is why we find in one of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions[7] one Śivasēmba, the *Mahatalavara* of the Ābhīra king Vasushēṇa (3rd century A.D.), claiming to have grown and gifted *tālavanas* or palmyra-groves in some two places. Because Nandivarman I had performed meritorious acts of different nature, he is praised as such also in the Peda-Vēgī plates[8] of his grandson Nandivarman II, who is also the issuer of the present charter. This Nandivarman I seems to have reigned for a fairly long period. For we have two

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1 cf. *sarvalōkasya hitē pravṛittaḥ* in the Junagaḍh inscription of Skandagupta : *FGI.*, pp. 58 ff., text line 7.

2 cf. *dhṛita-kāruṇya* an epithet of Rudradāman in his Junagadh inscription (*op. cit.*), line 10. Amarasiṁha recognises *dayā* and *anukampā* as synonyms of *kṛipā* 'mercy'. Yet, to avoid a sort of tautology here we may have to take these two in their etymological senses : *dayā* (*day* 'to save'), 'a mental disposition by which one saves others from afflictions"; and *anukampā* (*anu* + *kamp* 'to shake') 'a disposition because of which one is mentally moved like the afflicted person himself'.

3 See *e.g.*, *Pratāparudrīyam* : ed. V. Raghavan (Madras 1979), p. 14. And also see comm. thereunder.

4 See e.g. anukampavatō=nēka-gōśatasahasra-pradāyinaḥ (epithet of Samudragupta) in the Allahabad *praśasti*, *op. cit.*, line 25; hiraṇyakōṭi-gōśatasahasra- halaśatasahasra-dāyinaḥ (an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chantamula I) in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription : above, Vol. XX, p. 16, lines 4-5.

5 See Hēmādri, *op. cit.*, pp. 457 ff. ; pp. 468 ff; pp. 565 ff.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 1033 ff. In this section of the work it is interesting to read ancient authorities enjoining that every man should grow and gift a number of different trees for the sake of the community; that the trees themselves bear all the heat of the Sun; yet they give cool shades to all who come to them; they bear fruits for the sake of others only; and that they must be grown and gifted. cf. *Aśvattham ēkaṁ pichumandam ēkaṁ nyagrōdham ēkaṁ daśa tintriṇīkam | kapittha-bilv-āmalakī-tri-pañcha-pañch-āmravāpī(dāyī) Narakaṁ na paśyet || ++++ chhāyām anyasya kurvanti tishṭanti svayam-ātapē-parā ātapē | phalanti cha parārthēshu na svārthaika-para drumāḥ || atō drumāḥ sadā rōpyāḥ (dēyaḥ) sarva- kāma-samṛiddhayē ||* What a commendable ecological awareness of the ancient Indians!

7 *JAIH* Vol. XV, pp. 186-87. In the said section of *Dānakhāṇḍa* one reads *apatya-phaladās=tālābe* The printed text is obviously wrong.

8 *Op. cit.* ; cf. *vividha-dharma-pradhā (?dā)nasya* in lines 2-3.

records of his reign : (1) the Kānukollu plates issued by the king in his 14th regnal year;[1] and (2) the Dhārikāṭūra grant[2] issued by his son Achaṇḍvarman, as a *yuvarāja* in the 35th regnal year of the ruling king Nandivarman I.

The next king Achaṇḍavarman, the son of Nandivarman I, is eulogised in the succeeding two lines (lines 6-7) as follows : He would amply reward even the simplest service or favour done to him and he would suitably retaliate even the slightest wrong done to him (*ishanmātra-ōpakār-āpakra-pratikārasya*).[3] Another epithet says that he had subdued his neighbouring kings by his valour (*pratāpōpānata-sāmantasya*). The same epithet is found applied to this king in the Peda-Vēgi plates also, already referred to. Hence, we may rightly conclude that by his military might, Achaṇḍavarman had extended his political influence among the neighbouring rulers of the region. The third epithet describes the king as a bestower of wealth in plenty. The last epithet tells us that this king inflicted violent punishment on those who were on the side of his enemies (*dvit-paksha-chaṇḍadaṇḍa*). This epithet had been manufactured obviously with a view to justify the name *Achaṇḍavarman* of the king. The poet perhaps takes this name here in the sense of 'one who has no violent person excelling him', i.e., the most violent person.[4]

Achaṇḍavarman's son, the ruling monarch Vijaya-Nandivarman, is described by epithets in lines 7-8. His title *mahārāja* found in his own Peda-Vēgi and Kantēru plates must have been there in our present record too at the end of the eighth line, now broken off. The other titles of his are (1) *bhagavach-Chitrarathasvāmi-pādānuddhyāta* (only partly preserved) 'meditating on the feet of the god Chitrarathasvāmin' ; (2) *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhakta* 'devoted to his father, the revered king'; (3) *parama-Bhāgavata* 'a great devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishṇu)'; and (4) *Śālaṅkāyana-vaṁśa-prabhava* 'born in the family of Śālaṅkāyana (the sage)'. All these epithets, neither more nor less, are found applied to Nandivarman II in his own Peda-Vēgi and Kantēru plates also, where the fourth epithet has been shortened as *Śālaṅkāyanaḥ*, but meaning the same. Again, it may be of interest to note that these eipthets alone (and not more) are found assumed also by *Yuvamahārāja* Achaṇḍavarman (father of Nandivarman II) in his Dhārikāṭūra grant,[5] and also by Vijaya Skandavarman (a cousin brother and a successor of Nandivarman II) in his Kantēru and

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1 Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff.

2 *Op. cit.*

3 cf. *kathañchid=upakārēṇa kritēnaikēna tushyati* |
and *apakurvan hi Ramasya sākshād api Purandaraḥ* |
na sukhaṁ prāpnuyāt, etc.
the description of Śrī Rāma's two characteristics by Vālmīki. See *VR.*, *Ayōdhyā* 1.11 and *Sundara* 51.33 respectively.

4 The *vigraha* intended here is obviously *na vidyatē chaṇḍō yasmāt saḥ; sa chāsau varmā cha.* cf., Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 4.

5 *Op. cit.*

Kānukollu plates.[1] Thus it seems that the court poets of the Śālaṅkāyana kings had set up a unique convention of describing their monarchs only in these set epithets of the nature of the most factual statement. Obviously the Śālaṅkāyana kings were, by nature, *avikatthanas*,[2] i.e., they did not like to be praised highly.

Having thus introduced the ruling king Nandivarman II, the preamble of our record concludes with the king's address to the *mutuḍas* 'elders or headmen' connected with a district and to the *grāmēyakas* 'the inhabitants or officials of a village' in a district. The name of this locality as well as that of the district are not clear. Perhaps they were respectively Bhūtaṭṭāṇḍaka and Vachaḍa.

Then follows the second section of the record, viz., the royal decree proper in lines 10-20. A major portion of this section, as we have observed in the very beginning, is very much effaced, damaged and lost. Hence, it is not possible to derive from it sufficient information. But this much is certain : By this decree the king made a permanent (*ā-chandr-ārka-tārakā-prithivī-sama-kālam*, line 16) land grant (as the imprecatory verses suggest) in favour of the honourable disciples of the Buddha (*-vandyamāna-sphurad-aṅghribhyō Buddha-śishyēbhyaḥ*, line 19) with certain privileges (majority of them are not readable) like freedom from the obligations of supplying curd etc. (......... *dadhy-atakra*......, line 18).[3] The gift land excluded the lands of the good learned Brahmins of the neighbourhood (*sāmanta-bhaṭṭavara-bhū-parihāra*........., line 18). In this connection the following is to be noted. While introducing the donee the Buddha is praised (line 12). Probably the latter was the head of the holy place (*sthānavara*), obviously a *vihāra;* he was a refuge of all beings (*sarvva-bhūta-śaraṇāya*, line 15), and was an ascetic (*yativarāya*, line 16). It was perhaps he who received the land-gift on behalf of the Buddhist clergy. The king is said to have made the gift for the prosperity or increases of his own clan and family (*asmat-kula-gōtr-ābhivriddhayē*, line 10) and it was made for the maintenance of the residence or hostel of the disciples of the Buddha (*bhagavatō Buddhasya śishyānāṁ sadmanō bharanārthaṁ*, line 11). A person, whose name seems to be [Nā]garāja, is introduced (line 13), perhaps as ruling over Nā[ta]-vishaya (line 12), and as having done something for the increase of his own merit, valour, true fame, etc. (*ātmanaḥ puṇya-pratāpa-satya-yaśō-bhivriddhayē*, line 13). The circumstances suggest that the king made the grant probably at the instance of this Nāgarāja or more probably the latter himself made the grant while the king ratified the same by issuing the charter. The preamble comes to an end with the statement that the charter bearing the royal decree was issued (*paṭṭika datta*) in the (regnal) year four (or forty-four).

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1 See *JAHRS*, Vol. V, pp. 30 ff. ; and above, Vol. XXV, pp. 42 ff., respectively. In fact Mahārāja Nandivarman I (grandfather of Nandivarman II) is endowed only with the single title *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka pāda-parigṛihīta* in his Kānukollu plates (*op. cit.*).

2 Kālidāsa attributes this gentlemanly characteristic, through the mouth of Vālmiki, to the epic hereo Śrī Rāma. See *Raghuvaṁśa*, 14.73.

3 See the note under the text.

The next or the concluding portion contains the partly preserved four verses. They all praise the greatness of gifting lands and of protecting such gifts ; and also imprecate those who disturb the land grants. Of these stanzas, the first three are quite common in Sanskrit charters and the last one is a bit rare. But all these verses are found in the literary works extolling land grants.

Having thus studied the contents of the record in detail let us try to assess its contribution to our knowledge of history. As stated above, it is the solitary lithic inscription and also the lengthiest of the known records of the Śālaṅkāyanas. The record adds nothing new to our knowledge about the political history of the kings of the dynasty or of their chronology and genealogy. Yet, it throws light on many aspects of the cultural history of the age and area. Firstly, being written in simple, but elegant poetic prose, this early Sanskrit record does help the students of Sanskrit literary history in tracing a link between the northern style of the fourth century A.D. and the southern style of the succeeding age. Indeed pleasing alliterations like *Śalaṅka-kul-āmal-ākāśa-śaśāṅka* (line 1), *upakār-āpakāra-pratikāra* (line 6), *chaṇḍa-daṇḍasy=Achaṇḍavarmmaṇaḥ* (line 7), etc., did herald the more picturesque ones we find in plenty in the *Daśakumāracharita* of Āchārya Daṇḍin (7th century).

The reference to the sage Śalaṅka as the progenitor of the Śālaṅkāyanas is interesting. The name of the sage reminds us of the name *Śālaṅkī* of the river mentioned in the Baudh-plates of Raṇabhañja (9th century A.D.)[1] as a tributary of the Mahānadī. This river is the same as the modern Sālkī that joins the Mahānadī near Baudh in the Orissa State.[2] It may not be wrong to assume that the names *Śalaṅka* and *Śālaṅkī* are closely inter-related. It is known from the epics that Viśvāmitra Kauśika (to whose group Śalaṅka-Śālaṅkāyana belonged)[3] had the holy river Kauśikī on the Himālayas for his sister.[4] May be, in the same manner Śalaṅka was also believed to have had Śālaṅkī for his sister. These river-names and their probable connections with the sages are perhaps indicative of these two sages and their immediate descendants having settled on the banks of these rivers before they migrated further South.[5]

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1 Above, Vol. XII, p. 327, text line 23.

2 *Ibid.*, note 4; *ibid.*, Vol., XVIII, p. 300.

3 See p. 99 and n. 4 above.

4 Cf. *Viśvāmitrasya bhaginī (vipulā) nadī rājarshi-sevitā | Kauśikī śivā puṇy'ā brahmarshi-gaṇasevitā ||* (MB, op. cit.) *Anuśāsana* 3, 10.

5 It has been pointed out that *Śālaṅkāyana* is the name of Nandin, the bull Śiva, which was also the crest of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers (CA., pp. 205-06). However, the word does not seem to have been recognised or sed in the sense of *Nandin* excepting by a few lexicographers of the medieval age. It is possible that the said lexicographers' recognition of it in the said sense is based on a different etymology of the word, i.e., *Laṅkā ayanaṁ yasya saḥ laṅkāyanaḥ Rāvaṇaḥ ; tena saha vartatē iti sālaṅkāyanaḥ* (the initial *śa* and *sa* are interchangeable) *Nandin*. It is well known among the Śaivas, that Rāvaṇa and Nandin, (along with a few others) are put on par in receiving Śiva's *prasāda* (the remnant of what is offered to Śiva). There is a well-known verse of unknown source running : *Bāṇa-Rāvaṇa-Chaṇḍīśa-Nandi-Bhṛingiriṭ-ādayaḥ / Mahādēva-prasādō=yaṁ sarvē gṛihṇatu Śāmbhavāḥ*. This verse is being recited almost invariably by the Śaivas even to-day while performing *Nandipūjā* at the end of their daily worship of Śiva. Basing on the said etymology of *Śālaṅkāyana* (from *laṅkā* 'island'), the name seems to have been applied to the sage Vyāsa (the author of the epic *Mahābhārata*) also who was born to Satyavatī in a *laṅkā* or an island in the midst of the Gaṅgā. See the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *Śālaṅkāyanajīvaraḥ*. cf. also *Dvaipāyana* (dvīpa 'island'), another name of Vyāsa.

The present Guṇṭupalli record is also of great importance for our study of the history of Indian religions during that age. The reference to the cult of Rudra Śiva in the form of the rising Sun (*Tāmra*) which, as pointed out earlier, has Vēdic sanction in a way, is unique, particularly in the South Indian context. In the succeeding age, i.e., early sixth century, the founders of the Pushyabhūti dynasty in the North, viz., Rājyavardhana I, and his son and grandson Ādityavardhana and Prabhākaravardhana claimed to be *Paramāditya-bhaktas* "the most devoted worshippers of the Sun".[1] But they too did not worship the rising Sun, as Rudra Śiva, as the Śālaṅkāyanas appear to have done.

Chitrarathasvāmin, apparently the family god the Śālaṅkāyanas, has been identified with the Sun-god on the ground that *Chitraratha* "having a bright chariot" is found recognised in the lexicons as an appellation of the Sun-god.[2] But this word, like another word, *chitrabhānu*, "having bright rays" is recognised by the lexicons as an appellation of the Fire-god (*Agni*) as well.[4] Therefore, the said appellation alone may not decide the point. But the reference to the early Śālaṅkāyana ruler Hastivarman's devotion to *bhagavat* Tāmra seems to suggest that the family deity was also probably Rudra Śiva himself in the form of the Rising Sun. May be Chitraratha "one having a bright chariot"[4] of the Śālaṅkāyana records used as a synonym of Skt. *Tāmraratha* "one having coppery-red chariot"- a chariot which Rudra Śiva is described, in a Vedic text, as riding in the heavens.[5]

The stress in the record on the various gifts said to have been made by the Śālaṅkāyana kings is also significant. Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman, perhaps a predecessor of Hastivarman, claims to have preformed the great Vedic royal sacrifice, *Aśvamedha*, sometime in the early fourth century.[6] Mādhavavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍi dynasty performed as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas* along with *Kratusahasra Sarvamēdha* and other Vedic sacrifices in the succeeding age, i.e., the later part of the fifth century.[7] Again as observed above, the kings who were contemporaries of Hastivarman Śālaṅkāyana and who too assumed, like him, the title *Dharmamahārāja* (or *Dharmamahādhirāja*) seem to justify that epithet of theirs by referring to their performance of the sacrifice *Aśvamēdha* prescribed in the Vēda. On the other hand the author of our record appears to justify that title on the basis of the king having made the gifts enjoined in the *Smṛitis* and *Purāṇas*, and not on the basis of the performances of sacrifices as prescribed in the Vēda. This shows that *smārta-dharma* had gained ground over *śrauta-dharma* in the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom. This shift of stress was perhaps due to the

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1 See e.g., the preamble of the Madhuban plates of Harshavardhana : above, Vol., I, p. 72.

2 CA, p. 205.

3 See Monier-Williams, op. cit., s. v.

4 *Ibid.*, s.v.

5 cf. *Tāmrāśvās=tāmrarathāḥ* ....*sto Rudrāḥ parān gatāḥ* — the *Taittiriya Araṇyaka* I.7.4.

6 CA., p. 205.

7 *VTT.*, pp. 13, 169.

traditional texts that glorify the greatness of making gifts over and above the performance of penance and sacrifices.[1]

This much is for the *śrauta* and the *smārta dharmas*. From the point of Purāṇic religion also our record is important. Śālaṅkāyana Dēvavarman, whom we mentioned above, styled himself as *paramamāhēśvara* "a staunch devotee of the god Mahēśvara Śiva".[2] But the case was different with regard to Nandivarman II. For, though as a Śālaṅkāyana he was a devotee of the god Chitrarathasvāmin, he was personally a *paramabhāgavata* "a staunch worshipper of the Bhagavat, i.e., Vishṇu". Possibly, he was the first monarch, or one among the earliest known kings of the South to assume the title *paramabhāgavata*. He was a younger contemporary of the great Gupta emperor Chandragupta II (c. 380-474 A.D.), the first known *paramabhāgavata* among the Gupta kings. It is said that this Gupta emperor was at the root of the great popularity of the Bhāgavata cult.[3] We do not know whether a strong northern Bhāgavata-wind blew southward, reached the coastal Andhra region and converted Nandivarman II into a *paramabhāgavata*.

The present record is again interesting for the study of the history of Buddhism of the age. The mighty Śātavāhana emperors were personally staunch orthodox Vedists and they performed Vedic sacrifices. Yet, they did readily favour the heterodox religion viz., Buddhism, as their own records reveal. Their golden examples were emulated by their successors in Āndhra, viz., the Ikshvākus who were personally Vedists and yet encouraged Buddhism. Our present record stands witness to the fact that this legacy was continued happily by the Śālaṅkāyanas also. In fact this practice was continued in the next age too by the Vishṇukuṇḍis who were very staunch Vedists. Two among them are known to have favoured Buddhism by building monasteries and by granting lands to them.[4] The fact that the Buddhists flourished in the midst of the Vedists is vouched for by our present Guṇṭupalli record itself by referring to the lands gifted to the Buddhists as being located in the neighbourhood of the lands of the orthodox Brahmins (*sāmanta-bhaṭṭavara-bhū*, line 18) which were excluded from the gift. Thus, the religion of the Buddha lived a healthy life in the midst of the Vedic religion and the monastic disciplines of early days were continued to be practiced (as indicated by the decree part of our record, describing the followers of the Buddha and their *sthavira*). All these do testify to the comparative vigour and prosperity

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1 cf. *Krita-Trētā-Dvāparēshu tapō yajñah praśasyate |*
munayō=tra praśaṁsanti dānam ēkaṁ kalau yuge ||
See above, Vol. XXXII, p. 75.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 58.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 136.

4 *VTT.*, pp. 153, ff.; 182 ff.

that Buddhism enjoyed in the coastal Andhra region, as elsewhere too in the north during the age.[1]

In the extant portion of the record we read the names of four geographical units. Of them, the first one is Vengipura, the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas. It has been already identified with the modern Peda-Vegi,[2] a village near Ēlūru, the headqarters of the taluk of that name in the West Godavari District. The reading of the names of the other three places is uncertain. We have doubtfully read them as Vachaḍa-vishaya, Bhūtaṭṭaṇḍaka-grāma and Nata-vishaya. Of them the former two are obviously the district and village where the gift land of the charter was situated. The third geographical unit, viz., the Nāta-vishaya, as we hinted earlier, could have been a district or an administrative unit over which Nāgarāja might have ruled as a subordinate. I confess that I am unable to identify any of these three geographical units. The Brāhmī inscriptions from Guṇṭupalli of the first century A.D.[3] refer to the locality of the Buddhist site in Guṇṭupalli as Nāgaparvata. This name is not traceable in the available portion of the epigraph.

TEXT[4]

1 Svasti [|*] Śrī-Vijaya-Vengīpurāt[5] [|*] Śalaṅka-kul-āmal-ākāśa-Śaśāṅkasya Bhagavat-Tām[m]ra[6]-bhaktyā kṛita-dharmma-nava ..[7]

2 Vishṇugṛiha-chaturvaidya-śāl-ady-a[nē]ka-vidha-puṇya-karmma[8]-paripūta-yaśaś-śarīrasya[8] nāna-prakā[ra][10]...

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1 See R. Sathianathier, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-29. In this contect it may also be good to remember that Śaṅkarāchārya, the most vociferous teacher of the age of Vedic revivalism (and also perhaps Kumārilabhaṭṭa) did not condemn the religious aspect or any religious practice of Buddhism, even though he spared no pain in refuting the philosophy of the Buddhists.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 274 ff.

4 From an inked estampage and a photograph of an estampage received from the Director (Epigraphy), Mysore.

5 The final *t* is written in diminutive form below the line.

6 The reading could be *-tāmbra* as well. Another probable, but doubtful reading, as stated above, is *Bhagavat-[Śa]m[bhu]bhaktyā*.

7 Some two or three letters that are lost here are perhaps *Śiva* or *śrī-Śiva*.

8 Here the adjective *śālādi*, directly qualifies *karmma*. Hence, the latter word seems to have been used to mean '*kārya*' or 'the result of an act', as in the Upanishadic passage '*yasya vā ētat sa vai vēditavyaḥ* (*Kaushītakī Upanishad* 4.18). "Indeed He should be realised whose work (result of whose work) is this Universe". See Śrī Śaṅkara under *Brahmasūtra* 1.4.6; and the grammatical rule *kṛiñō bhāvē karmaṇi cha manin* (*Uṇādisūtra*, 4.145). In English too the word work means both 'an effort' (or 'act') as well as 'the result of an act'.

6 Here the intended *vigraha* is *dharmāḥ cha Śiva-Vishṇu ++śālādini puṇya-karmāṇi cha, dharma+++ karmāṇi* (a *Dvandva* compound); *kṛitāni cha tāni dharma +++ karmāṇi cha* (a *Karmadhāraya* compound); *taiḥ paripūtam yaśa ēva śarīram yasya, tasya* (a *Bahuvrīhi* compound).

7 Only the head of *ra* is visible. The three letters, that might have been lost here, may be restored as *vishaya*.

3 rasa-vijayasya Mahārāja-sadriśa-dhana-visarggasya bhūpati-sattamas [ya]...[1]

4 varmma-dharmma-mahārājasya prapautraḥ day-ānukampā-parāyaṇasy=ānēka-śata-sahasra-hi...[2].

5 [jī]va-taru-pradān-ārjjita-dharmmasya[3] prajānā[ṁ] hitakarasya śrī-Nandivarmma-mahārājasya [pautraḥ][4]...

6 tr-ōpakār-āpakāra-āpkāras-pratikārasya pratāp-ōpanata-sāmantasya prabhūta-prak[ā][5]...

7 dasya dvit-paksha-chaṇḍa-daṇḍasya mahārāj-Achaṇḍavarmmaṇaḥ putrō bhagavach-Chitra[6]

8 nuddhyatō bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ=parama-bhāgavataś=Śālaṅkāyana-vaṁśa-prabhavō[7]

9 Vijaya-Nandivarmma Vacha[ḍa][8]—vishaya-mutuḍa Bhū[ta]ttā[ṇḍa]ka[9]-grāmēyakān =[samā]jñāpaya[10]

10 [a]s[ma]t-kula-gōtr-[11] ābhivṛiddhayē- [12][dhātuvara]...[daśabala-sukṛita-balinas= tyāga][13]

11 [14]-bhagavatō Buddhasya śishyāṇāṁ sa[dmanō] bhara[ṇārthaṁ] shashṭhē[ndri]y[15]-ōdbhūt-ānubhūta[16]

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1 What we have lost here are obviously the three syllables *śrī-Hasti.*

2 This mutilated expression may be restored as *hiranya-go-bhu.*

3 The word *dharmma* is used here in the sense of 'merit' acquired by means of pious acts'. *cf.*, the sage of *dharmma* in line 1 above signifying the pious acts themselves.

4 This word is mutilated. After this, we have perhaps lost some three syllables like *ishan-mā.*

5 Some five or four letters we have lost here might have been *ma-dhana-pra°.*

6 The complete expression must have been originally *Chitraratha-svāmi-pād-ānudhyātō.*

7 What we have lost here is obviously *mahārāja-śrī-* (five syllables)

8 The reading of this name of the geographical unit is doubtful. *Va* is found in diminutive form above the preceding *°rmmā.*

9 The reading of this village-name is also doubtful.

10 The six or seven syllables that are lost here could have been *ti | sati ch=āyam grāmaḥ.*

11 The *Amarakōśa* recognises *kula* and *gōtra* as synonyms meaning 'family'. But this tautological peculiarity is almost invariably found in all the Śālaṅkāyana records, both Prakrit and Sanskrit.

12 These mutilated expressions in this line remind us of *dhātu-vara-parigrihītasya* (above, Vol. XX, p. 18, inscription B4, line 3); and *daśa-bala-balinaḥ puṇya-jñāna-sambhāra-bhārasya* (*VTT.,* p. 154). These are the epithets of the Buddha and of the *Buddha-saṅgha* as the case may be.

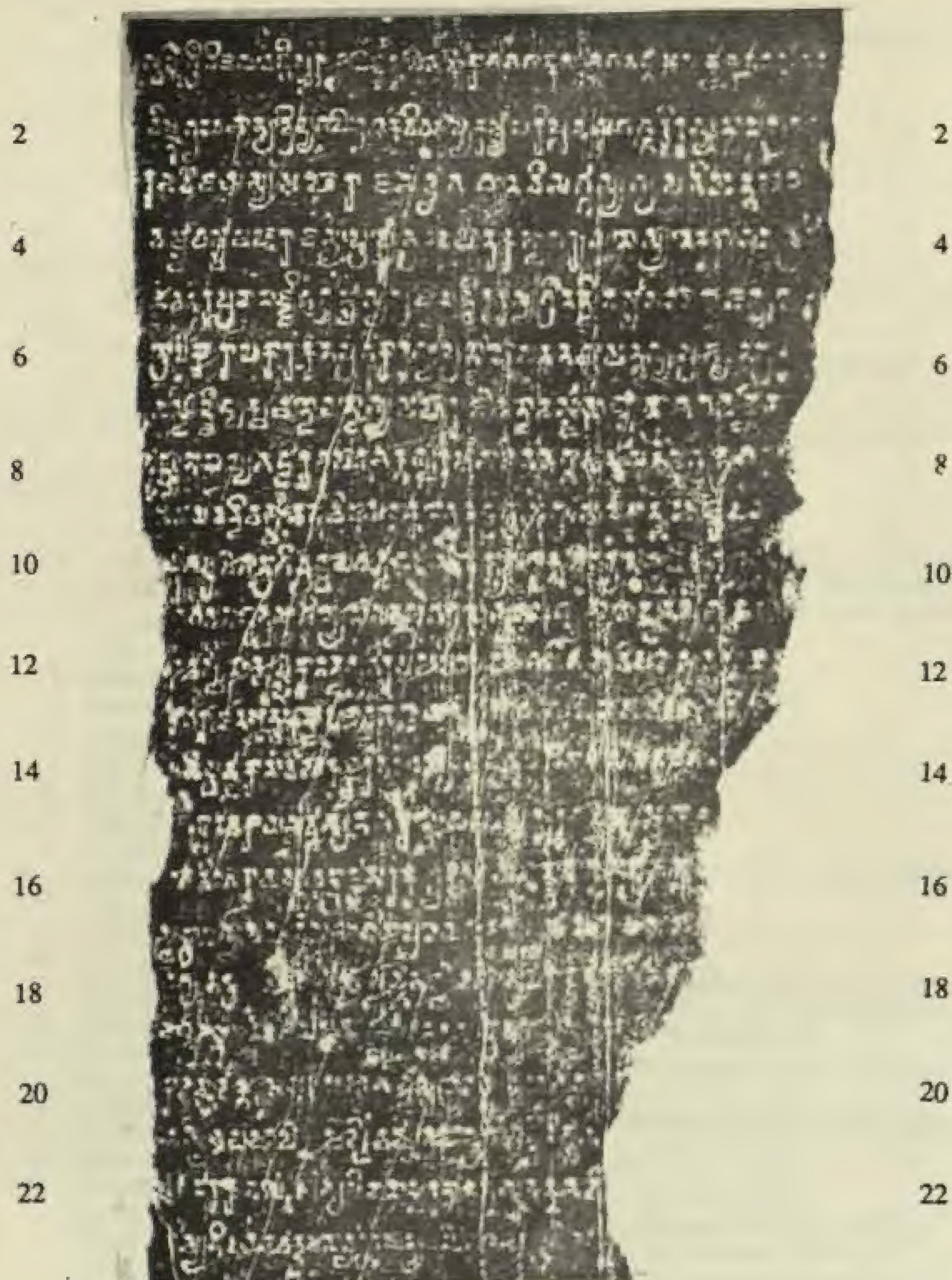
13 About eight to ten *aksharas* seem to have been lost here.

14 One letter is broken off and lost here.

15 *Shashṭhēndriya* is the same as *manas* 'mind, the internal organ'. Cf. *manaḥ shashṭhān=īndriyāṇi* (*Bhagavadgītā,* 15.7).

16 Some seven *aksharas* seem to have been lost here.

GUNṬUPALLI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA NANDIVARMAN



12 [1]-varshshiṇō=kshullak[2]-ānanda-sthavira-Vasupi[ṭhāchāryyāya?] Na[ta]vishayē a[3]

13 -[1][Nā?]garājēna ātmanaḥ puṇya-pratāpa-satya-yaśō[4]......... vihāra-ni[5]

14 -[1]siddhārthakānāṁ vima . . [6] ritaḥ[7]...... . tō[8] .... vāsi[nē][9]-

15 -[10]sthānavarāya sarvva-bhūta-śaraṇāya[11]...... varishṭhāy=ō[12]-

16 -[13][ya]tivarāya ā-chandr-ārkka-tārakā-prithi[14]

17 -[13][saddhāmasya] vihāra[15]. ...dāya-pradēyaṁ[16]

18 -[13]dadhy=atakra-[17]...... sāmanta-bhaṭṭavara-[bhū-parihāraṁ][18].........

19 -[19][ra]d-aṅghri [bhyaḥ] Buddhaśishyēbhyaḥ sa[20] ....

20 -[21]kā dat[t]ā [saṁ] 4[22] iti || | Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhu[kta bahu]bhiś=ch=ānu[23]

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1 About two letters appear to have been lost here.

2 Or *varshshiṇ=ākshullak-*

3 Here about four letters are damaged and thereafter some five or six syllables seem to have been broken off.

4 Some eight letters are much damaged here; and of them the first four might have been -*°bhivṛiddhayē.*

5 Some five or six syllables seem to have been lost here; of them the first three could have been *vāsināṁ.*

6 I am unable to read some two letters here.

7 Some seven or eight letters are effaced after this.

8 About four letters are disfigured after this.

9 Some seven or six letters are broken off and lost.

10 Here some three *aksharas* are broken off and lost.

11 About six subsequent letters are obliterated.

12 Perhaps eight syllables are lost here.

13 Here some three *aksharas* are broken off and lost.

14 The intended expression is obviously *-prithivī-samakālaṁ.* About twelve letters are peeled off and thereafter some eight more *aksharas* might have been lost.

15 Some four letters are effacted here.

16 About eleven letters are effaced and thereafter some eight letters are lost.

17 Some five or six letters are disfigured here. Cf., the privilege *a-harita-paṁṇāsaka-puppa-phala-duddha-dadhi-ghaṭa-ggahaṁ* mentioned in the Kānukollu plates of Nandivarman I (*op. cit.*), text lines 20-22.

18 About six *aksharas* are peeled of here and thereafter about eight to ten letters are lost.

19 About two letters are broken off here. The mutilated expression can be tentatively restored as *vandyamāna-sphurad-aṅghribhyaḥ.*

20 The intended expression may be *saṁpradattaḥ.* Here some eight letters are disfigured and thereafter eight or ten letters are broken off and lost.

21 One or two *aksharas* might have been lost here.

22 The heads of the two antennas of the *ta*-like symbol touch the top of the line. Hence one should not read here *tō.* Moreover the medial ō in the record is always represented by *prishṭhamātrās* and not by *śirō-mātrās.* Therefore, we have here only a symbol denoting *4* that can be compared with numerals denoting *4* in other epigraphs. The reading here can also be, as stated above, *dattā 40 4.* The reading of the next expression *iti* is purely conjectural. cf. the phraseology of *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarē prathamē +++ dattā paṭṭikā* and its cognates found in the Śālaṅkāyana charters.

23 What we have lost here is - *pālitā | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya ta-*

21 -[1]tadā phalam I [1 II*] Shashṭi-varshsha-sahasrā[ṇi svarggē ti-[2]

22 ..... [3]narakē vasēt II [2 II*] Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavi[4]

23 .[5]vishyati II [3 II*] Yathā chandramasō vṛiddhir=ahany=ahani [jāyatē I tathā] bhūmi-kṛitaṁ pu-[6]

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1 The single letter that is lost here is evidently *sya*.

2 The rest of the verse in this line, can be restored as *shṭhati bhūmidaḥ* I *ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha* .

3 Restore *tāny=ēva*.

4 The fourteen syllables we have lost here are *shyati* I *tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na*.

5 Restore *bha* here.

6 The rest of this verse is -*ṇyaṁ sasyē sasyē vivarddhatē* II

No. 12—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KORṚAPPĀḌU

(2 Plates)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore

The two inscriptions[1] edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were found engraved on two slabs built into the ceiling of the Śiva temple at Korrapāḍu in the Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh during the year 1940-41. The texts of both these records have been published with brief introduction in the *Inscriptions of Cuddapah District*, Vol. I as Nos. 43 and 46. They are being re-edited here with improvements in reading in view of their interesting nature. They will be referred to hereunder as *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. These two records are in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters, palaeographically assignable to the 8th century A.D. and their language is Telugu. Of these two inscriptions, the first one belongs to the reign period of Kīrttivarman who is identical with the second king of that name in the Vātāpi Chalukya family who is known to have ruled from 743 to 753 A.D.

As regards the **palaeography** of *A* some of the features are comparable to the Turimeḷḷa epigraph of Vikramāditya I.[2] In the case of *vā* in *vāri* (line 4), medial *ā* is indicated by a shaft at top of the letter as in *ṭā* occurring in the Turimeḷḷa epigraph. The letter *e* in *eḷa* in line 9 is the only initial vowel found employed in this inscription. The cursive form of mute *l* occurs in *rājul* (line 10) and *maṟutul* (line 12).

Attention may be drawn to the occurrence of initial *a* and *i* (lines 1 and 3 respectively) in *B*. Other features are as found in *A*. In inscription *B*, lines 4 to 6 are written in perpendicular alignment to the earlier three lines.

A contains some words of **lexical** interest such as the archaic expressions *paṭṭu*[3] (lines 5 and 7) meaning either 'capital' or 'seat' or 'royal bestowal' or 'fief' and *pāḷa* meaning 'on behalf of'. In the record *B*, *sandhi* has not been observed in the case of Perbāṇa + adhirāju (line 1).

A

It belongs to the reign period of Kīrttivarman II who is endowed with the usual imperial titles. The inscription is not dated. It states that Bāṇarāju was administering Pāmbuḷgi on behalf of the emperor, that Perbāṇādhirāja was administering Lāvanūr on behalf of Bāṇarāju and that Kupppadiyara was administering Korrapaṟu on behalf of Perbāṇadhiraja.

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1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1940-41, Nos. B 418 and 419.

2 Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff. and plate facing p. 162.

3 The term *paṭṭu* meaning 'capital' occurs in an inscription stated to be of a Telugu Chōḷa king. (See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 232-33); *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B 24.

The **object** of the epigraph is to record the grant of 4 *maṟuturu* of land measured by the *rājamāna*[1] measure of the standard of thirteen extended arms at Koṟṟapaṟiti by Perbāṇadhirāja to the deity Āditya-bhaṭarar (Sun god).

B

Inscription *B* introduces Perbāṇa-adhirāju without any reference to his overlords. In this record, it is stated that he made a gift of one *maṟuturu* of land probably to a certain Rachamallu of Maḷavura. The gift seems to have been made on the occasion of an eclipse (*grahaṇa*, not specified).

The mention of the Bāṇas as the feudatories of the Chalukya emperor Kīrttivarman, and as administering on his behalf Pāmbuḷgi is of historical importance. It would be of interest to note that in a record at Chāmalūru, one Bāṇarāju is mentioned as ruling Pāmbuḷiggi in the 22nd year of the reign of the king *Pṛithvīvallabha* Vijayādi[tya].[2]

The reference to Bāṇa chiefs in the various records of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi from Anantapur District, especially from the Tāḍapatri region, is of considerable importance. All these inscriptions belong to the reigns of Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Kīrttivarman II.[3] One of these, belonging to the reign of Kīrttivarman II, found at Chandana[4] and palaeographically assigned to c. 8th century mentions Bāṇarāja as ruling over Suramāra-vishaya (Turamāra-vishaya), a sub-division in the Gutti region of Anantapur District.

It is known that the Bāṇas, who were ruling over the region covered by the Ceded districts, which included this territory, were subjugated by the Chalukyas during the reign of Pulakēśin II.[5] The main branch of the Bāṇa family, called Bṛihad-Bāṇa,[6] from whom the first Kadamba king Mayūraśarman (c. 332-57 A.D.) levied tribute, migrated from their ancestral dominions to further south, to the Pallava dominions, where they once again paid allegiance to the Pallavas. But, nevertheless, scions of the main family viz., the Perbāṇa family, to which the members settled in the Ceded districts are known to have belonged, continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chalukyas as revealed by Vijayāditya's Koṭṭuru inscription.[7] Another record of Vijayāditya at Dānavulapāḍu[8] refers to one Bhūpāditya who has been identified with Bhujaṅgadi Bhūpāditya of the Perbāṇa family figuring in the

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1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 206-07. It is stated that the mention of *rājamāna* implies a strong central administration. It may be noted that this expression occurs in a similar context in an early Telugu record of 7th century from Urutūru in Cuddapah District. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 229).

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 242.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 331 ff.

4 *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 17; Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 340.

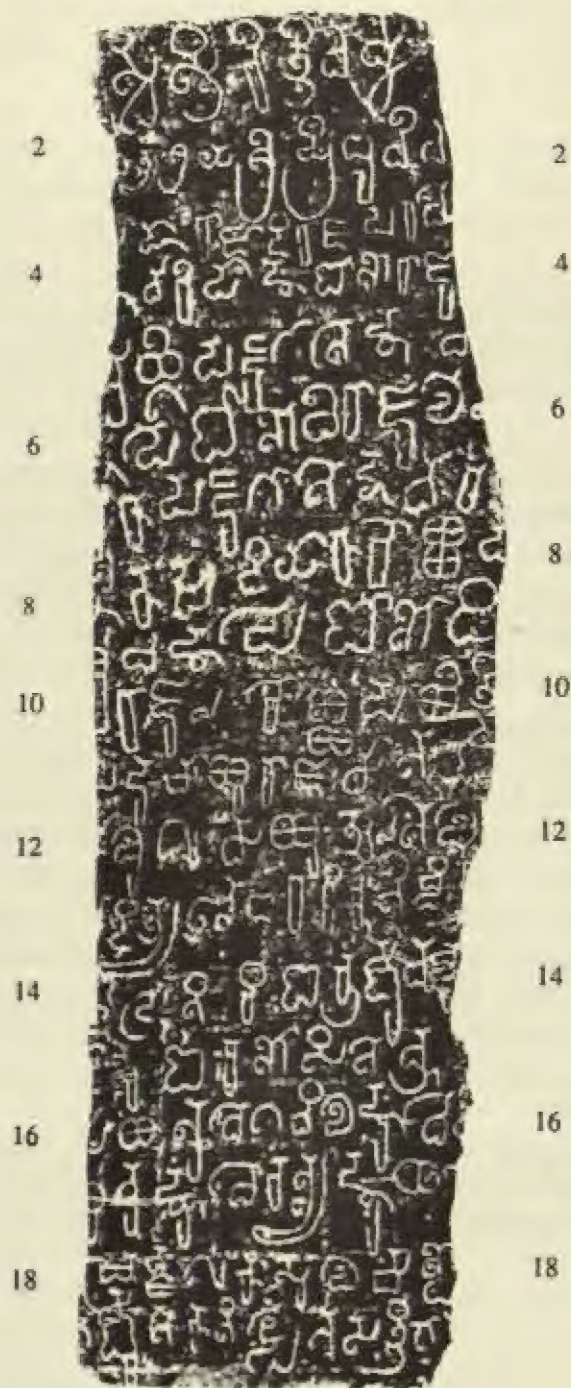
5 Above, Vol. XI, pp. 230-34 and Vol. XXX, p. 70.

6 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 32, verse 15.

7 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 69 ff. and plate.

8 *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 339; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 49.

(A)



Arakaṭavēmula inscription of Śrīvallabha (i.e., Vikramāditya I).[1] A fragmentary record from Peddapasupula in the Cuddapah District[2] mentions a chief Bhūpāditya as the ruler of Rēnāḍu. Though the name of the overlord of this chief is not recorded in the above inscription, yet it may be surmised that he is identical with his namesake who figures in the Arakaṭavēmula and Dānavulapāḍu epigraphs. In the Arakaṭavēmula and the Chilamakūru inscriptions, there is reference to the Perbāṇa family *(Per-Bāṇavaṁśa)*. Our epigraphs also make a specific reference to the title *Per-Bāṇādhirāja* held by the Bāṇa chiefs.

The place Pāmbuḷgi[3] has been identified with Hāvaḷige in the Gooty Taluk of Anantapur District. It was once the capital of a branch of the Bāṇa family as early as the period of Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) of the Chalukya family. Lāvanūr, the place of rule of the chief Perbāṇādhirāju, may be identified with its namesake in Jammalamadugu Taluk of Cuddapah District. It is on the Kadiri Road, located about seven miles from the confluence of Chitrāvatī and Pennār rivers. The village Koṟṟapariti and Maḷavura, from where the lands have been granted, can be identified respectively with Koṟṟapāḍu and Maḷuvūr. A village of the latter name is mentioned in Nērur plates of Vijayāditya as having been granted by Chalukya Vikramāditya II.[4]

A.

TEXT[5]

1 ,Svasti | [*]Kīrtti[6]varmma[6]-

2 Satyāśraya-śrī-Pri(Pṛi)thu(thi)viva[llabha]-

3 [ma*]hārājādi(dhi)rāja-parame[śvaru*]

4 [ḷa][7] vāri pāḷa Bāṇarāju [| Pām]-

5 [bu]ḷgi paṭṭugan=ēḷa vāri[pa*]-

6 [ḷa] Perbāṇādhirāju Lā[va*]-

7 [nū]ru paṭṭugan=ēḷa vāri[pa*]-

8 ḷa[8] Kuppaḍiyāru Koṟṟapa-

9 [ṟu] ēḷa Perbāṇādhi-

10 rājul Koṟṟapariti

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1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1906, No. 474; Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 243, foot-note Nos. 5 and 6.

2 *A.R.Ep.*, 1940-41, No. 339.

3 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 242-44; *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65, Introduction, p. 9.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 133; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 373.

5 From ink impression.

6 The *rēpha* sign in conjunct letter is clear.

7 In *ḷa*, the stroke of the lower loop alone is visible with slight traces of the *talakaṭṭu*.

8 Only a part of the letter is seen.

11 pa[du][1] [mā]ṟu rājamāna[mbu*]
12 nālugu maṟutul nēla-
13 [n=Ā][2]ditya-bhaṭararikkīn=ichchi[ri*]
14 [dēniki] bakrambu[3] vachchu-
15 [vā]nṟu baraṇāsi[4] vēvru
16 [pā]ṟanu[ṁ] vē-gavilaḷu[ṁ] vē-se-
17 [ṟu]vuḷu[ṁ] vē-kannyāḷu[ṁ] ḷa[chchi*]-
18 [na]vanṟagu [I*] Kusala maṇḍa-
19 [ga][5]mbunaku nilpina sattigā[6]

B.

TEXT[7]

1 Svasti [I*] Śrī Perbaṇa-adhirāju
2 Maḷavura Racha[mallu]
3 maṟutturlu nēla ichchiri grahaṇa
4 dēniki vakrabu vachchu-
5 vānṟu pañcha-ma
6 hāpataka(ku)nṟagu [I*]

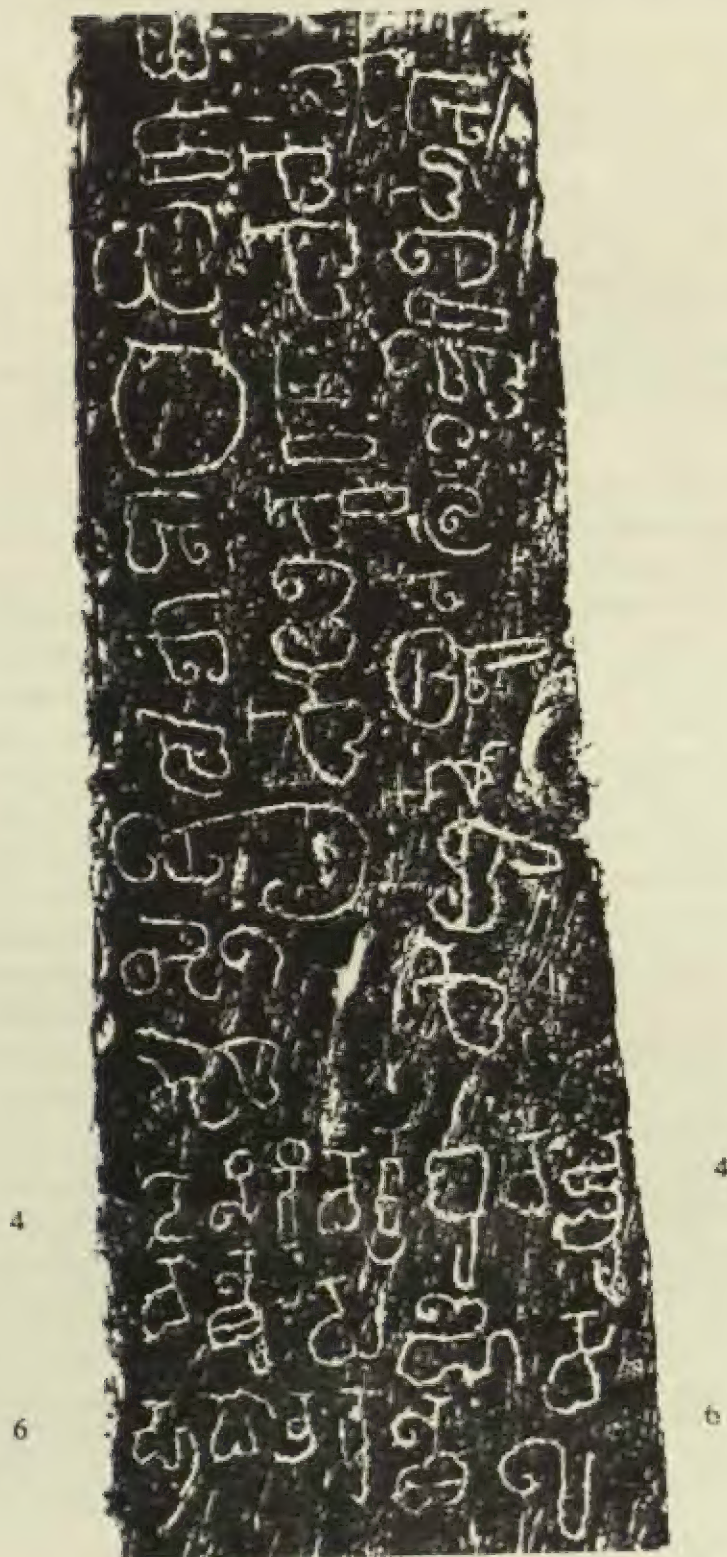
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1 This letter is not clearly engraved.
2 The curve for *n* length in *n=Āditya* is slightly seen.
3 Read as *vakrambu.* cf. Above, Vol. XXX, p. 16.
4 Read as *bāraṇāsi.*
5 May also be read as *ḷa.*
6 Stops here.
7 From ink impressions.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOṞṞAPĀḌU—PLATE II

(B)

2



4 4

6 6

No. 13—CHANUGOṆḌLA INSCRIPTION OF RĀCHEYARĀJU

(1 Plate)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription, edited with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is found engraved on a pillar in the Nāgaliṅgēśvarsvāmi temple at Chanugoṇḍla, Kurnool Taluk and District, Andhra Pradesh. It has been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1960-61, as No. 28 of Appendix B.

The epigraph is engraved in Telugu language and characters of the 10th century. **Palaeographical** features are regular for the period and do not call for any special remarks. Initial vowels *a* (line 8), *i* (lines 2, 3 and 13) and *ī* (line 9) occur in this record. The following **orthographical** features are noteworthy. The expression *velgaḍu* (dry land, line 4), as a type of land is very interesting in that the suffix *gaḍu* may be compared with its counterpart in *rēgaḍu* which also denotes a different type of land. The term *gaḍu* is the same as the Telugu word *kaḍa*, meaning 'ground', 'place' etc. The word *velgaḍu* occurs in later inscriptions as *veli-nēla* or *veli-volamu*, the suffix *gaḍu* being replaced by *nēla* or *vo* (or *po*)*lamu*, which also mean the same. It may be noted that class nasal is used in the place of *anusvāra* throughout the inscription, except in the expressions *ta(tā)rakaṁbu* (line 8) and *Bhalasiṁgha* (line 14) where *anusvāra* is used. The nominative suffix in the expression *Nāgēśvarammu* (line 1) deserves attention in that the more usual form occurring in this period is *°ṁbu*, as seen in *°tārakaṁbu* (line 8) in the present inscription itself. The use of *um* as conjunctive suffix in *Bharanasiyum=aḷisina* (lines 11-12) is an early feature.

The record is not dated but may be assigned to the 10th century on the basis of palaeography as has already been stated.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *svasti* and proceeds to record the grant of land to Śrī-Nāgēśvaraṁbu, *i.e.* the temple of the god Nāgēśvara by a certain Racheyaraju (lines 1-2). Lines 3-8 give details about the extent of land so granted which are as follows: *rēgaḍu* (black cotton soil) : 20 *maṟuturu; velgaḍu* (dry land) : 10 *maṟuturu; tiṇṟla-vari-chēnu*[1]: 12 *maṟuturu* and *kasila*-chēnu:[2] 9 *maṟuturu*. Reference to the last two types of lands during

1 While vari-chēnu means 'paddy field', the meaning of the prefix *tiṇṟla-* is not clear. However, it may be suggested that it may mean land yielding a thick or nutritious variety of rice. cf. Kittel's Kan-Eng. Dictionary wherein is given the word *diṇḍu* which means among other things 'stout, thick, nutritious', etc.

2 By *kasila-chēnu* is perhaps meant 'a field from which underground water was oozing out. cf. Kittel op.cit., wherein the word *kasi* is given the meaning of 'to ooze, to tackle, to flow'.

this period is an uncommon feature. Line 9 speciifies that the gift-land is situated in (the village) Cheḍullakuṇḍa. Lines 10-13 contain the usual imprecatory passage. Lines 13-14 state that a certain Bhalasiṁgha-bhaṭaralu was the owner of the land, implying probably that the gift-land was entrusted to his care. The figure of *liṅga* and the figure of couchant bull facing the *liṅga* are engraved at the bottom of the slab intercepting the letters in the last line.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to a certain Rācheyarāju as the donor. Taking the characters and provenance of the record into consideration we may identify Rācheyarāju with one of the subordinate chiefs of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (939-66/67 A.D.) whose empire included the Cuddapah-Kurnool region in Andhra Pradesh. An inscription[1] from Nāyakallu (Kurnool District), dated Śaka 880 (967 A.D.), belonging to the reign of Akālavarsha Pṛithvīvallabha (i.e., Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III), refers to *mahāsāmanta Nanni-saḷukki* Rāchamalla as a ruling chief. It is obvious that he belonged to the Chaḷukya stock and that he was ruling the Kurnool region as a subordinate of his imperial master Kṛishṇa III. The characters and provenance of the present inscription as also the similarity between the names Rāchamalla and Rēcheyarāju tempt us to identify Rācheyarāju with Rāchamalla of the Nāyakallu inscription. In this context it may be noted that Chanugoṇḍla, the findspot of the inscription in question and Nāyakallu are both situated in the Kurnool Taluk itself and that they are not far from each other. That the chiefs belonging to the Chaḷukya lineage were serving the Rāshṭrakuṭas as their subordinates is evidenced by many inscriptions apart from the Nāyakallu epigraph referred to above. The Ballaṭgi (Dhawwar District, Karnataka) inscription,[2] belonging to the second half of the 8th century, refers to a certain Balavarmma who is described as *Chaḷukya-kula-ti*[*la**]*ka* and who is identified with his namesake referred to in Vāḍapalli (Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh) and Koṟṟapāḍu[3] (Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions and in a copper-plate charter of Gōvinda III[4] and is taken to be a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. A *mahāsāmanta* Katyara of the Chāḷukya family is referred to as ruling Kōgaḷi-500 and Māsiyavāḍi-140 as a subordinate chief of Kannaradēva (i.e., Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III) in an inscription from Bāgali (Bellary District, Karnataka), dated 944-45 A.D.[5] However, the final identification of Racheyarāju of our inscription with Rāchemalla of the Nāyakallu inscription will have to await further epigraphical corroboration.

The only **geographical** name that occurs in this inscription is Cheḍullakuṇḍa and it is identical with the findspot of the record.

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, No. B 290 and Intro. p. 14.

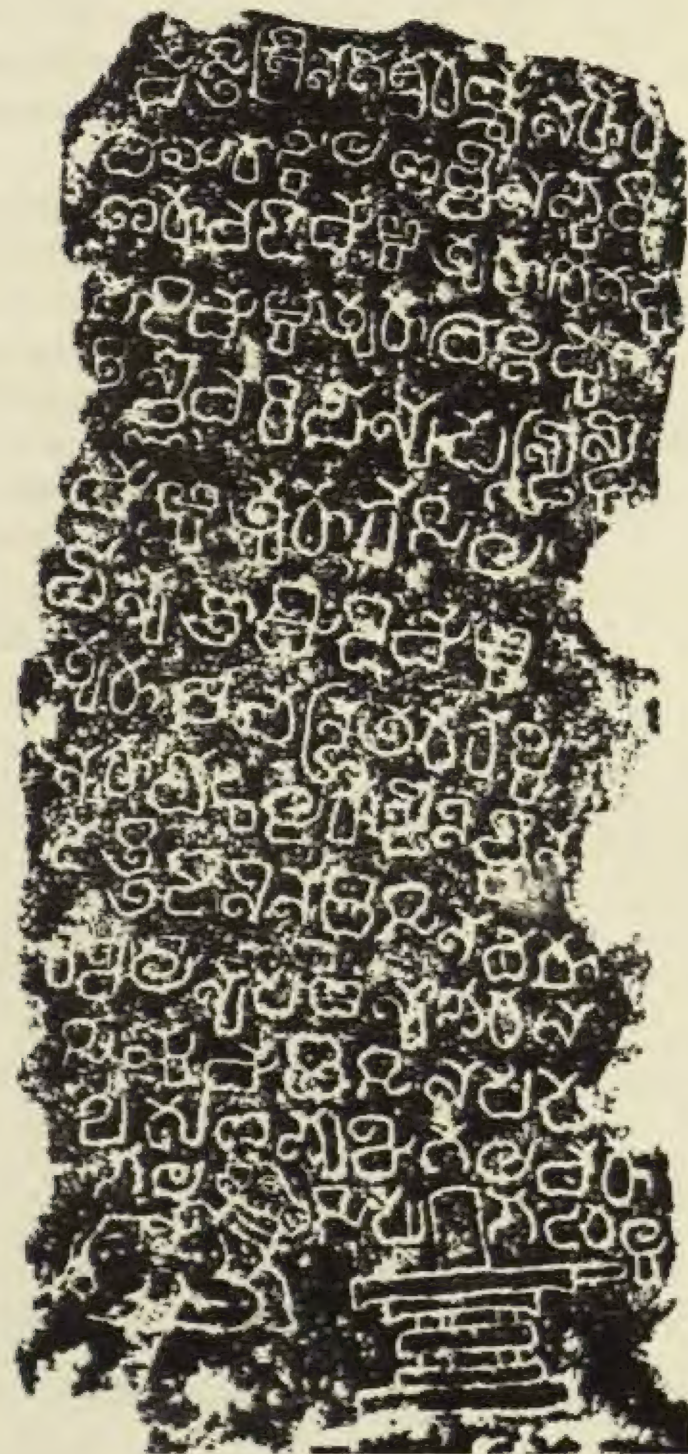
2 *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. B 547. Here the name of Balavarmma was wrongly read as Kalivarmma.

3 *Ibid.*, 1940-41, Nos. B 421, 422 and 424; *Ibid.*, 1941-42, No. E 46. Also above, Vol. XLII, p. 182 and plate.

4 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff. The genuineness of this charter is not above suspicion.

5 *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 64.

CHANUGONḌLA INSCRIPTION OF RĀCHEYARĀJU



TEXT[1]

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-Na(Nā)gēśvarammunaku R[ā]-
2 cheyarājula ichchina bhūmi
3 iruvadi maṟuturu rēgaḍu
4 padi maṟuturu velgaḍu
5 tiṉṟla-vari-chenu paṇḍrenḍu
6 maṟuturu kasila-
7 chēnu tomidi maṟu-
8 turu ā-chandra-ta(tā)rakaṁbu-
9 na ī Cheḍullakuṇḍan-ichchina
10 datti [||*] dinin=aḷisinavaru[2]
11 kavilanu pa(pā)ṟanu Bha(Vā)rana(ṇā)-
12 siyum=aḷisina pa(pā)pa-
13 ṁb-agu [||*] ī bhūmi galava(vā)ru
14 Bhalasiṁgha-bhaṭaralu [||*]

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1 From inked estampages.
2 Read - °vāriki.

No. 14—NĀLANDĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHARMMAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 4

(*1 Plate*)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was discovered during the excavations conducted at Nālanda in 1977. It is engraved on a votive stone *stupa* below which are engraved the figures of the Buddhas in *dhyāna-mudrā* or *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. The inscription is in two lines. The average size of the letters is 1.2 cm. On the left side of line 1 is carved in relief the figure of a *dharma-chakra* flanked on either side by an elephant with its trunk raised up in adoration. The elephant in Buddhist mythology represents the Buddha and recently a painting of an elephant with an inscription engraved on it[1] was discovered in the same place on the pedestal of a colossal broken statue of the Buddha[2] very near the votive stone *stūpa* on which the present inscription is engraved. This carving, however, is unique and not so far met with in Nalanda for, in the seals discovered from that place, representations of the *dharma-chakra*, flanked on either side by a deer, are generally seen and it has been interpreted as indicating the Buddha's first sermon at Sarnāth.[3] It is also incidentally the emblem of the Pālas of Bengal. Only in some seals where Gajalakshmi is represented, an elephant flanking on either side of the goddess is found.[4] Above the second line, on a portion of the stone which has been slightly raised up to form a border, a row of lotuses is engraved in relief. The inscription has been published by Shri V. Mishra.[5] Since the reading of the text given by him is incomplete and faulty, the same is being re-edited from a fresh set of estampages taken during my visit to Nālanda in March 1979.[6]

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit which is not free from errors of grammar and orthography. The **characters** belong to the East Indian variety of the Proto-Nāgarī script of about the 8th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of another inscription of Dharmmapāla from Nalanda itself.[7] The **palaeographical** features do not call for any special remarks.

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1 The first line of the inscription reads as *śrīprachaṇḍa-hasti* (the impetuous elephant) probably referring to the painting of the elephant on which it is engraved (see *AR Ep.*, 1978-79, No. B 42). The representation of elephant is seen as early as the time of Aśoka symbolising the Buddha as found in Girnār, Kālsi and Dhauli (See *Inscriptions of Aśoka* by D.C. Sircar, p. 16).

2 This appears to be the same image that was caused to be installed by Pūrṇavarman *alias* Prathamaśiva in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. (*ARÉp.*, 1975-76, No. B. 72; above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 117 f.)

3 Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 290.

4 *MASI*, No. 66, p. 49, No. S.I., 794.

5 *QJMS.*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 45 ff.

6 This has been noticed in the *AR Ep.*, 1978-79 as No. B 41.

7 *MASI*, No. 66, pp. 85 ff.

NĀLANDĀ INSCRIPTION OF DHARMAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 4

(A)

(B)

(C)

K. V. Ramesh

Scale One-Half

The inscription begins with a symbol standing for the auspicious word *siddham*. It may be noted that the same symbol is repeated at the beginning of line 2 wherein it either merely signifies the commencement of a fresh line or may be indicative of the commencement of the effective portion of the text. Then follows the usual Buddhist formula *yē dharmmā hētu prabhava*, etc. The inscription thereafter refers itself to the reign of Dharmmapaladeva who is no doubt identical with the Pāla king of the same name who flourished in the 8th century A.D. Then follows the date of the record which is given as the 4th year of the reign of Dharmmapala, Vaiśākha purṇṇimā.[1] After this, the purport of the record is given which is, however, left incomplete.[2] It is stated that a goldsmith (*survarṇṇakāra*) by name Vajjaka did something for the acquisition of supreme knowledge by all sentient beings beginning with his parents. The act which Vajjaka did could probably be conjectured as the construction of the miniature votive *stūpa* on which the present epigraph is engraved.

Two other inscriptions of Dharmmapala are already known from Nalanda.[3] But this inscription is interesting since it is the only dated epigraph of Dharmmapala from Nālanda. It is known that Dharmmapāla had to face great adversaries viz., the Pratihāra king Vatsarāja and the Rashtrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha in the early part of his reign.[4] The present epigraph shows that the region around Nālandā was under the sway of Dharmmapāla in the 4th year of his reign.

TEXT[5]

1 Siddham[6] [||*] Yē dharmmā hētu prabhavā hētuṁ ta(tē)shan=tathāgatō ha (hy=a) vvaṁ (va)[dat*] tēshāṁ cha yo nirodha evaṁ vādi mahāśramaṇa[ḥ*] [||*]

2 [7]Śrī Dharmmaprā(pā)ladēva-vijaya-rājyē saṁvat 4 Vou(Vai)śākha purṇṇamasaḥ || Sū(Su)varṇṇakāra || Vajjakasya[8] māta-pi(pi)tṛi-purvaṅgamaṁ[9] kṛitvā sakala-satva(ttva)-rāśē-nratta[10]

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1 This day is very important in the Buddhist Calendar, known as a thrice sacred day being the day of birth, awakening and death of the Buddha.

2 The word *dēya-dharmmō=yam* has been omitted in the inscription.

3 Nālandā plate of Dharmmapāladēva (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 290 ff.) . Fragmentary stone inscription of Dharmmapāladēva (*MASI.*, No. 66, p. 85 ff.).

4 *History of Bengal* (ed. by R.C. Majumdar)

5 From impressions.

6 Expressed by a symbol.

7 On the left side is engraved another *Siddham* symbol, as in the beginning of line 1, indicating the commencement of line 2.

8 Read *dēya-dharmmo=yam* to complete the sense.

9 Read *mātā-pitṛin-pūrvvaṅgamam*.

10 Read °*rāśēr=anuttara-jñān-āvāptaye*.

No. 15—DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA(II) BĀLĀDITYA, YEAR 314

(*2 Plates*)

S.P. Tewari, Mysore

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was received in his office in 1980 from the Director of Archaeology, Gujarat State, Ahamedabad. As per the information provided by the said Director of Archaeology, the plates were discovered at the village Dana, Kapadvanaj Tahsil, Kaira District, Gujarat, sometime in the year 1979.

The plates are two in number having writing on the inner sides only and measuring roughly 33 cm × 26 cm each with raised edges all round for the protection of the writing. There are two round holes at the bottom side of the first and the top side of the second plate for the rings, holding the plates together, to pass through. From the photograph of the seal supplied to us separately, it may be safely concluded that one of the rings had a seal attached to it. On the countersunk surface of the seal is the legend *śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ* which is separated from the figure probably of a bull on the upper half of the seal by two horizontal lines running parallel to each other. Information about the weight of the plates is not available to us. The edges of the lower right and left corners of the first plate and the top left corner as well as the lower right corner of the second plate are broken away, resulting in the loss of a few letters which can, however, be easily restored. Except a few lines at the top of both the first and second plates and some more letters along the left margin of the first plate and the left and right margins of the second plate which are somewhat worn out the rest of the writing is well preserved. There are respectively 22 and 21 lines of writing on the first and second plates. The lines are generally straight and the letters equal in size. As regards the **palaeography, language, orthography**, style and the general appearance of the plates, they have much in common with the published and well-known charters of the king Dhruvasena II Bālāditya and, therefore, do not call for any special remarks.

The charter was issued from Valabhi by king Dhruvasēna(II) Bālāditya who is introduced in lines 1-32, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dharasēna(III), son of Kharagraha(I) who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya(I) Dharmāditya, son of Dharasēna(II), who was the son of Guhasēna, a descendant of Bhaṭārka of the Maitraka dynasty.

The grant is dated in the Gupta Valabhī year 314 (633-34 A.D.), Mārgaśira, ba. 12 which is important for the fact that it fills in the gap in Dhruvasēna's reign from 313 to 319 (i.e., 632-638 A.D.). As noticed by the scholars earlier,[1] the records of the time of Dhruvasēna, though fairly regular in occurrence before the year 313 and after the year 319, leave a gap of six years (i.e., from the year 313 to the year 319) in between for which period no record of the king was hitherto found. And this non-availability of the records for these years had given rise to the surmise that probably this interval was marked by confusion resulting from

1 See, *Ancient History of Saurāshtra* by K.J. Virji, pp. 72-73 and the appendices V.F.

the invasion of the Valabhī kingdom by Harsha and its aftermath.[1] Now the discovery of our record of the year 314 not merely fills in the gap between the years 313 and 319 , but also disproves any claim that Harsha's invasion had rendered Dhruvasēna's authority ineffective. In this case, the expression *śrī-Dhruvasēnaḥ kuśalī* (lines 32-33) of our record, though stereotyped and conventional, is also meaningful.

The main **object** of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Dayantaka, included in Mahishaka-padraka of Kheṭakāhāra-vishaya, in favour of the *brāhmana* Bhaṭṭi Vishṇu, son of Bhaṭṭisvāmi, belonging to... gōtra and the Bahvṛicha-śākhā (lines 34-35) who was the resident of Ānarttapura. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts as recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas. It may, however, be noticed that the boundaries of the gift village Dayantaka are not enumerated in the record.

The executor of the grant was *sāmanta* Śīlāditya (line 42) who is generally identified with prince Śīlāditya, the son of Dērabhaṭṭa of the Vindhya region.[2] He is already known to have officiated as *dūtaka* upto the year 319 (638-39 A.D.) falling in Dhruvasēna's reign. The document was written by *sandhivigrahādhikṛita divirapati* Vattrabhaṭṭi (line 42-43) who is already known as the writer of many other grants of the Maitraka rulers like Śīlāditya I, Kharagraha I and Dharasēna III,[3] and whose name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatpabhaṭṭi,[4] Chandrabhaṭṭi,[5] Vaśabhaṭṭi,[6] Vaśabhaṭa[7] and Chatrabhaṭṭi[8] also. The present charter is probably one of the last, if not the last, written by Vattrabhaṭṭi, for the records of Dhruvasēna issued from the year 319 onwards are found written by Skandabhaṭṭa, the son of Vattrabhaṭṭi. Hitherto, since the last grant written by Vattrabhaṭṭi belonged to the year 313 it was thought by the scholars that, Skandabhaṭṭa took over the office of *lēkhaka* from him as early as about 314 (633-34 A.D.).[9] But from our record it is made clear that Vattrabhaṭṭi was very much in office till the year 314.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the charter under review, Ānarttapura, of which the donee was a resident, has been identified by some with the well-known Dvārakā and by others with Ānandapura (Vaḍnagar), Mehsana District, Gujarat.[10] Ānarttapura is mentioned in the Amrēli Museum Plates of Dhruvasēna,[11] also as the place where the donee of that charter resided. Inscriptions belonging to dynasties other than the Maitraka mention

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1 K.J. Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

3 Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1340, 1342, 1346 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 1337.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 1338.

6 *Ibid.*, No. 1341.

7 *Ibid.*, Nos. 1349, 1351.

8 *Ibid.*, No. 1345.

9 Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

10 cf. N.L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*; Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 1953, p. 506 and note.

11 Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 283-86 lines 34-35.

a region called Anartta which is generally located in North Gujarat.[1] It is likely that Anarttapura of the Amreli Museum Plates as also the present charter, is a place situated in the Anartta region. Its name Anarttapura is perhaps suggestive of its having been the principal town of that region.

Another geographical name occurring in our record is Khēṭakāhāra-vishaya which is also referred to in some other Maitraka charters and generally identified with the region around modern Kheḍa[2], the headquarters of the Kaira District in Gujarat. In the same way Mahishaka-padraka may be identified with the present Mahisha in the same District, and it finds mention in other records as Mahishabali situated in Khēṭakāhāra in Surāshṭra. About the actual identity of the village Dayantaka it is difficult to be sure, but it is not unlikely that the present village Dana or Dena, from where the charter has been acquired, is the same as Dayantaka.

The date of the record, as pointed out above, is quoted in the last line (line 43) as the 12th day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśira in the year 300+10+4 which is followed by the conventional endorsement *svahastō mama.*

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 Siddham[5] [||*] Svasti[||] Valabhitaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-

2 pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-[dā]na-mān=ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anurakta-maula-bhṛita-śrēṇī-bal=āvāpta-rājya-śriyaḥ para-

3 ma-māhēśvarāt śrī-Bhaṭārkkād=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vaṅśān=mātā[6]-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinḍa(nda)-praṇati-pravidhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaś=śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti

4 khaḍga-dvitīya-bāhur=ēva samada-para-gaja-bhaṭ-āsphōṭana-prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat=prabhāva-praṇat-ārāti-chūḍā-ratna-

5 prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṅhati[7] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛidaya-rañjan=ānvarttha-rā-

6 ja-śabdō r[ū]pa-kānti-sthairyya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sampadbhiḥ smara-śaśāṅk-ādirāj-ōdadhi-Tridaśaguru-Dhanēśān=atiśayānaś=śara-

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1 See eg., the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhōja, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99 ff.

2 Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 306.

4 From the photographs.

5 Expressed by symbol.

6 Read "*vaṁśān=mātā*"

7 Read *saṁhatis=*

DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA (II) BĀLĀDITYA,
YEAR 314—PLATE I

i



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7 ṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā triṇavad=apāst-āśēsha-svakāryya-phala-prārthan-ādhik-ārtha-pradān-ānandita-va(vi)dvat-suhṛit-praṇa-

8 yi-hṛidayaḥ pādachār=īva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ parama-māhēśvaraḥ śrī-Guhasēnas=tasya sutas=tat=pāda-na-

9 kha-mayūkha-santāna-vistṛita-Jāhnavī-jal=augha-prakshālit-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sahasr=ōpajīvyamāna-sampad=rūpa-

10 [lōbhā]d=iv=āśritas=sa-rabhasam=ābhigāmikair=guṇais=sahaja-śakti(kti)-śikshā-viśēshā(sha)-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-nara-

11 pati-samatisṛishṭānām=anupālayitā dharmma-dāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghātakāriṇām=upaplavānā[ṁ*] darśayitā Śrī-Sara-

12 svatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṅhat[1]-ārāti-paksha-lakshmī-paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ

13 śrī-Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat=pādānudhyātas=sakala-jagad-ānandan-ātyadbhuta-guṇa-sama(mu)daya-sthagita-samagra-diṇmaṇḍalas[2]=samara-

14 śata-vijaya-śōbhā-sanātha-maṇḍal-āgra-dyuti-bhāsuratarāṅsa[3]-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manōratha-mahābhāraḥ sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vibhā-

15 g-ādhigama-vimala-matir=api sarvvatas=subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpapā-danīya-paritōshas=samagra-lōk=āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛida-

16 yō=pi sucharit-ātiśaya-suvyā(vya)kta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilībhūta-Kṛi(Kṛi)ta-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan=ādhigat=ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharmm-ā-

17 nuparōdh-ōjjvalatarī-kṛi(kṛi)tārtha-sukha-sampad-upā(upa)sēvā-nirūḍhā-Dharmmāditya-dvitīya-nāmā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Śīlādityas=tasy=ā[nu]-

18 jas=tat=pād-ānudhyātaḥ svayam=Upēndra-guruṇ=ēva guruṇ=ātyādaradha(va)tā samabhilashaṇīyām=api rājalakshmī[ṁ*] skandh-āsaktāṁ parama-bhadra [i]-

19 va dhuryyas= tad-ājñā-sa(saṁ)pādan=aika-rasatay=aiv=ōdvahan=khēda-sukha-ratibhyām=anāyāsita-satva(ttva)-sampattiḥ prabhāva-sampad-vaśīkṛita-nṛipa[ti]-

20 śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagūḍha-pāda-pīṭhō=pi [par-āvajñ-ā]bhimāna-rasān-āliṅgita-manō-vṛittiḥ praṇatim=ēkāṁ parityajya prakhyāta-pauru[sh-ā]-

21 [stra-kauśal-ātiśaya]-gaṇatitha-vipaksha-kshitipati-lakshmī-svāyaṁgraha-prakāśita-pravīra-purushaḥ prathama-saṅkhy=ādhigama[ḥ pa]-

22 ramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Kharagrahas=tasya tanayas=tat=pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala-vidy-ādhigama-vihita-nikhila-vidvaja(j=ja)na-manaḥ-pa[ritōsh-ā]-

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1 Read *saṁhat-*.

2 Read *diṅ-maṇḍalas=*.

3 Read °*tarāṁsa-*.

Second Plate

23 tiśaya[ḥ*] satva(ttva)-sampadā tyāg=audāryyēṇa cha vigat=ānusandhān= āśa(sa)māhit=ārāti-paksha-manōrath=ākshabhaṅgas=samyag=upalakshit=ānēka-

24 śāstra-kalā-lōka-charita-gahvara-vibhāgō=pi parama-bhadra-prakri(kṛi)tir= akri(kṛi)trima-praśraya-vinaya-śōbhā-vibhūshaṇas=samara-śata-ja-

25 ya-patākā-haraṇa-pratyat=ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-vidhvansita[1]-nikhila-pratipaksha-darpp-ōdayaḥ svadhanuḥ-prabhāva-paribhūt-āstra-kauśal-ābhimā-

26 na-sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍal-ābhinandita-śāsanaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dharasēnas=tasy=ānujas=tat=pād-ānuddhyātaḥ sach-charit=ātiśayita-[sa]kala-pūrvva-nara-

27 pa[ti]r=ati-dussādhānām=api prasādhayitā vishayāṇāṁ-mūrttimān=iva purusha-kāra-parivṛiddha-guṇ-ānurāga-nirbhara-chitta-vṛittibhir=Manur=iva svyam= abhyu[pa]-

28 pannaḥ prakṛitibhir=adhigata-kalā-kalāpaḥ=kāntimān=nirvṛiti-hētur=akalaṅkaḥ Kumudanāthaḥ prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig-antarālaḥ pradhvansita[2]-dhvānta-

29 [rāśiḥ] satat-ōditas=savitā-prakṛitibhyaḥ=paraṁ pratyayam=artthavantam=ati bahutitha-prayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇṇaṁ vidadhānaḥ sandhi-vigra-

30 ha-samāsa-niśchaya-nipuṇaḥ sthānē=nurūpam=ādēśaṁ dadad=guṇa-vṛiddhi-vidhāna-janita-saṁskāras= sādhūnāṁ rājya-sālāturīya-tantrayōr=ubhayōr=api

31 nishṇātaḥ prakṛishṭa-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavān=apy=agarvitaḥ kāntō= pi praśamī sthira-sauhṛidayyō=pi nirasitā dōsa(sha)vatām=udaya-

32 samaya-samupajanita-janat-ānurāga-paripīḍita-bhuvana-samartthana-prathita-Bālāditya-dvitīya-nāmā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-Dhruvasēnaḥ

33 [kuśa]li sarvvān= ēva yathā-saṁbaddhyamānakaṁ(kān) samājñāpayaty=astu vas=saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāy=Ānarttapura-nivā-

34 [si]...sagōtra Bahvṛicha-sabrahmachāriṇē brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭisvāmi-putra-brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭi-Vishṇamē(vē) Khēṭakāhāra-vishayē Māhishaka-padrak=ānta-

35 rgata Dayantaka-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāyaḥ sa-dhānya-hiraṇy=ādēyas=sa-daśāparādhaḥ s-ōtpadyamāna-vi-

36 shṭikaḥ sarvva-rājakīyānām= ahasta-prakshēpaṇīyaḥ pūrva-datta-dēva-brahmadēya-brāhmaṇa-vinsati[3]-rahitaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=āchandr= ārkk-ārṇṇava-

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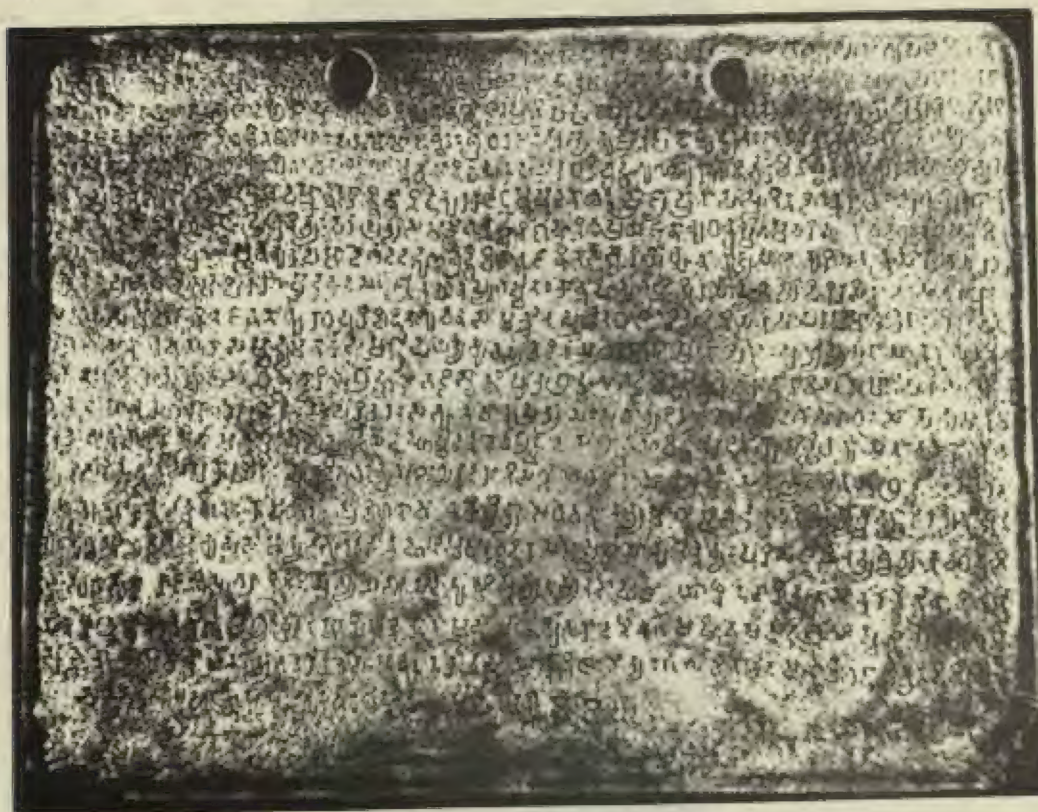
1 Read "*vidhvaṁsita.*"

2 Read "*pradhvaṁsita.*"

3 Read "*viṁśati.*"

DANA PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA (II) BĀLĀDITYA,
YEAR 314—PLATE II

ii



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SEAL



37 [kshiti]-sarit-parvvata=samakālīnaḥ putra-pautr=ānvayaṁ(ya)-bhōgya udak= ātisarggēṇa dharmma[dā]yō nisṛishṭō yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahmadāya-sthityā

38 [anayā] bhuñjataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=āgāmi bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=asmad=vaṁ-sajair=[1] anyair=vvā aniṁ

39 tyāny= aiśvaryyāṇy= asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyaṁ cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir= ayam= asmad= dāyō= numantavyaḥ paripāla-yitavyaś= ch= ēty= uktaṁ cha [।*] Bahubhi-

40 r=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [।] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis= tasya tasya tadā phala[m ॥1*॥] Yān=iha dāridrya- bhayān= narēndrair= ddānāni dharmm-ā-

41 yatanīkṛitāni [।*] nirbhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nama sādhuḥ punar= ādadīta ॥ [2॥*] Shashṭi- varsha sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[ḥ ।]

42 āchchhēttā ch= ānumantā cha tāny= ēva narakē vasē[t*] ॥ [3॥*] Dūtakō= tra sāmanta-Śīlādityaḥ ॥ likhitam=idaṁ sandhivigrahādhikṛita-divirapati-

43 Vattrabhaṭṭinā ॥ Saṁ 300 + 10 + 4 Mārgaśira ba 10 + 2 [।*] sva-hastō mama ।।।

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1 Read °vaṁśajair=.

No. 16—PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

(3 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore.

The copper-plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was received in 1962-63 from Dr. V.T. Gune, Director of Archives, Panjim, Goa through Dr. G.S. Gai, the then Government Epigraphist for India. The set was then stated to have been in the possession of the former and no other details regarding its actual findspot are available. This was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1962-63 as No. A 1.

This set consists of three plates with a ring and seal. The first and third plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the second has writing on both sides. Each plate measures 31 cms by 20 cms and the set weighs 3,410 gms with seal and ring. The seal is attached to the ring which is about 9 cms thick and its diameter is about 9 cms. The seal which is somewhat oval measures 4 cms by 3.75 cms and bears a human figure, on its countersunk surface, having in the right hand a *kamaṇḍalu* and in the raised left hand an object looking like a *daṇḍa*. This figure may represent Vidyāraṇya, an invocation to whom is given in the beginning of the charter.[1] There are some traces of the sun and crescent on either side of the figure. The plates are deeply engraved as a result of which the writing is well preserved.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī (lines 1-87) and Telugu (line 88-95) **characters** of the 14th century to which it belongs. The **language** is throughout Sanskrit prose and poetry and is mostly free of orthographical errors.

The **palaeographical** features of the record are regular to the period to which it belongs. As regards **orthographical** features the following are noteworthy : doubling of the consonant following the *repha* is observed in a few instances (lines 11, 13, 14, 25, 65 etc). There is no regularity in the matter of drawing the top horizontal over the Nāgarī letters as a result of which in some cases (as in *pālana*, line76 and 77) the *ā mātrā* of the previous letter appears like the *prishṭha-mātra* of the following letter. Attention may be drawn to the word *jaithalā* which is of some lexical interest. The word which denotes a coin, as it occurs in the present charter (lines 21, 22, 24), is the result of an attempt to Sanskritize the term *jītal* which appears to be the original form of the word.[2]

This charter is dated Śaka 1313 (in words), Prajāpati, Chaitra-*amāvāsyā*, *aṅgāraka-dina* and solar eclipse corresponding to 1391 A.D., April 4, Tuesday. However, the solar eclipse actually occurred on the next day (i.e., Wednesday) and on that day the *tithi* ended at ·23.

The **purport** of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Māṁchalāpura as an *agrahāra* by Mādhava-mantri, who was ruling Gōvā as a subordinate of Harihara II, to

1 It may be noted that the seal of the Kukke (South Kanara, Karnataka) plates of the same king, dated Śaka 1309, also bears a standing human figure facing proper right, holding a pitcher-like thing by the right hand and an open umbrella by the left (*AREp.*, 1928-29, No. A 2; Above Vol. XLI, pp. 118, ff. and plates).

2 D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 136. Another Sanskritized form of this name is *jithala*-*Ibid.*

12 *brāhmaṇas* of different *gōtras* and hailing from different places.

The record opens with the salutation to Śrī-Mahā-Gaṇapati followed by two well-known verses *Namas-tuṅga°* (verse 1, lines 1-3) and *Harēr=līlā°* (verse 2, lines 3-5). Then the ruling king Harihara II is introduced in lines 5-10 bearing epithets which are already well known from his other inscriptions. This is followed by the introduction of Mādhava-mantri (lines 10-18) as ruling over Gōvā on the orders of the king (*tan=nirūpita-Gōvā-siṁhāsanē*, line 10). He is described as *vēd-ōpanishan-mārga-pravartak-āchārya* and *śrauta-smārtta-dharmma-nirata* (lines 10-12). He is stated to have belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra, studied two *vēdas* (*dvivēdī*) and as the son of Chauṇḍi-bhaṭṭa (lines 12-13). He is further stated to have consecrated the deity Saptanāthaliṅga (line 13). He is described as one who had obtained the kingdom as a boon by worshipping the lotus feet of the god Triyaṁbakadēva (lines 14-15). The next three lines extol his valour by saying that his feet were decorated by the garland of the diadems (*mauli*) of the kings, that he was very skillful in protecting the kings who came from different countries and took refuge under him and that his valour was the very wild fire in burning down the families of the enemy kings which were like forests. Lines 18-19 state that Mādhava-mantri created an *agrahāra* in the name of his mother Māchāmbikā. Verses 3 to 7 (lines 19 to 26) define the *agrahāra*. The village Gōvāli, yielding a revenue of 128 *rāyaja-ṭaṁkakas* and 22 *jaithalas* and the village Mauli, yielding a revenue of 239 *rāja-ṭaṁkas* and 12 *jaithalas*, the total revenue of both the villages being 367 *ṭaṁkas* and 34 *jaithalas*, were united (as one village) and were exempted from taxes like *paṅga* (*paṁg-ādi-sarva-rāj-ōkta-bādhābhiḥ parivarjitaṁ*). These two villages, stated to have been included in the Triṁśad-vāṭikā-dēśa, were not only united but also a single boundary was marked for both (line 26). Verses 8 and 9 (lines 26-29) specify the boundaries of the village, which is here called as Māṁchalāpura, so named after Māchāṁbā, the mother of Mādhava-mantri. Lines 31-34 state that an embankment (*sētu*) was constructed to the tank called Māṁchālā-samudra, obviously named after Māchāṁbā, and that a water-fall from the hill on the north-eastern side (probably of the newly created *agrahāra*) was named as Mādhava-tīrtha, obviously after Mādhava-mantri himself. The waters of Mādhava-tīrtha and Māṁchālā-samudra were given (i.e., allowed to be utilised) for rearing an areca-nut grove which had been newly planted. A village called Brahmapurī, with beautiful buildings, was also created near this (probably areca-nut grove). The date of the charter, the details of which are discussed above, is given in lines 35-37. Lines 37 to 44 register the actual grant of the village. They state that in Dvīpa (i.e., Gōvā), in the presence of the deities Saptanāthadēva and Triyaṁbakadēva, as *brāhmaṇas* and *purōhitas* of his own lineage (*nijānvayē*) were near by, and having the groups of scholars hailing from different countries with him, Mādhava-mahīpāla gave away the village Māṁchalāpura-agrahāra, for the merit of his mother, to twelve brāhmaṇas, to be enumerated in the sequel, after laving their feet. The village was exempted from let and hindrance and was given away duly documented (*śāsanī-kritya*). Lines 44 to 57 give the list of the donees, the names of their fathers, their *gōtras* and the villages from which they hailed. The details are tabulated below :

Sl. No.	*Name of the donee*	*Name of the donee's father*	*Gōtra*	*Native place*
1.	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-bhaṭṭa	Atri	Kapila
2.	Viṭhṭhala-bhaṭṭa	Āmadēva-bhaṭṭa	Naidhṛiva	-do-
3.	Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-paṇḍita	Kauśika	Vēra
4.	Īśvara-bhaṭṭa	Dharmadēvajña-Māiṁdēva-paṇḍita	Gautama	Mallaura
5.	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Narasiṁha-kramavit	Bhāradvāja	Kapila
6.	Hāmadri-paṇḍita	Bhānu-paṇḍita	Kauśika	Vēra
7.	Kēśava-shaḍaṅgavit	Gōvinda-prabhu	Atri	Kapila
8.	Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭa	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Naidhṛiva	Khaḍga
9.	Gōvinda-bhaṭṭa	Kēśava-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	Piryala
10.	Padmanābha-bhaṭṭa	Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	Chandra
11.	Janārdana-paṭṭa-vardhana	Rāmadēva-bhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	Kulavana
12.	Vāmana-bhaṭṭa	Bhānu-bhaṭṭa	Kauśika	Bhallāvalı

All the donees are said to be *Ṛigvēd-ādhyāyins*. Lines 57 to 61 stipulate certain conditions according to which if any of the donees leaves the *agrahāra* and migrates to any other place along with his property, his share is to be enjoyed by the remaining donees (*ēshām-madhye yō-'grahāram tyaktvā sthityā sah=ānyatra gachchhati tad=bhāgaṁ sthitāḥ sarvē vibhajy=āśnīyuḥ*); an outsider, who is allowed into the village with the consent of all (the donees) can live in that portion of the village, which is not otherwise owned, with the permission of the neighbour (or that portion of the village) (*a-svāmikē-ṁśē pārśvastha-grih-ānumatyā sarvaiḥ sthāpitō=bhyāgatō vasēt*); one's own portion can be sold or gifted away by himself only with the consent of all (the donees) (*sv-āṁśa-vikrayaṁ dānaṁ vā sarv-ānumatēna kuryāt*); if either selling or gifting away is done without obtaining the consent as specified above both the seller and the buyer will be subjected to punishment by the king (*vin-ānumatyā dāna-vikrayau kurvan=vikrēta krētā ch=ōbhāv=api rājñā daṇḍyau*). Lines 62 to 67 specify gifts and taxes which are declared as the *mānya* of the *agrahāra*. These include all the gifts (*sarvōpadāḥ*) such as *saṁvatsara-pratipad-dīpālik-ōpāyana* (gifts of the king and others for the conduct of the festival of illumination on the first day of every *saṁvatsara*) and some taxes, viz., *taravāla-paṁjikā*, ferry-dues pertaining to the four rivers (*chatasṛishu nadīshu tāri-pāṁjikā*), all other *śulkas* and the ten *dāṇakas* of the *kāruka* tax levied on the *lēkhakas* (writers), *vāṇijakas* (merchants), *mālākāras* (garland makers), *nau-vāhakas* (ferry men), *rajakas* (washermen), *sthapatis* (architects), *karmmāras* (smiths), *kramuki-vṛiksha-bandhakas* (betelnut gardeners) and *charmakāras* (leather goods makers) and all other artisans (*kāru-prajā*). Thus the *agrahāra* was perpetually granted as a *sarvamānya* exempting it from all encumbrances (*sarva-bādhā-vivarjitam*) in the presence of the *pauras*, *jānapadas* and *nāgaras* of all the *dēśas* including Shaṭshashṭi, Aṁturuja-12, and Gōva-dēśa-70, etc.

(lines 68-71). Lines 71 to 87 contain usual imprecatory verses (vv. 10-18). Lines 88 and 95 twice register the sign-manual Śrī-Triyambaka-Śrī. Lines 89-92 state that after having examined the relevant copper-plate charters of the Kadamba kings, etc., who had ruled earlier, the villages Kapila, Khaḍga, Kulavana, Mōrambyavv-āgrahāra, Pariyala and Brahmapuri were given away to the *dvādaś-ādhikāris*, astrologers and others. The charter concludes with the injunction that the gift of these villages, as also that of Māchalāpura should be protected by the future kings.

The importance of this charter lies in the fact that though Mādhava-mantri is already known to be the ruler of Gōvā, this is his first charter to be discovered as yet from that region. Secondly, the stipulations laid down while granting the *agrahāra* are very interesting. We already know about this Mādhava-mantri through the Kukke plates referred to above as also from a stone inscription[1] from the same place bearing the same date *viz.*, Śaka 1309, Kali 4488 (1386 A.D.). Thus the present grant is dated four years later than the above two records.

Attention may be drawn to an inscription [2] from Banavāsi belonging to Harihara II, dated Śaka 1309 (1387 A.D.), in which the Kukke plates are also dated, referring to a governor of Gōvā, whose name is lost. He is endowed with the epithets *Śaiv-āgama-vārddhi-vardhishnu-Sudhākara, durāmātya-durnaya-duśśāsana, Rig-yajuh-sām-ātharva-vēda-vēdāṁga-kauśala, paśchima-paravāra-kalita-Gōvā-nagara-virājamāna-ruchira-siṁhāsana*, etc. Line 9 of the text of the same inscription refers to a Mādhav-āmatya. Hence we may infer that it is he who was endowed with the epithets mentioned above. It is possible that he is identical with Mādhava-mantri of our charter. However, it must be noted that he is not described in the present charter as *Rig-yajuh-sām-ātharva-vēda-vēdāṁga-kauśala* but merely as a *dvivēdi*. There was yet another Mādhava who flourished during the same period[3] but he must be considered as different from his namesake referred to in the present charter as the former belongs to Aṅgira-sagōtra while the latter belongs to Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

The **geographical** names mentioned in this record are tabulated below with their probable identification wherever possible :

Names as occur in the charter		*Probable identification*
1.	Gōvā Dvīpa[4]	Goa
2.	Mauli-grāma	Maulinguem (15°35' lat; 73°55' long)
3.	Vēra-grāma	Verem (15°30' lat ; 73°45' long)
4.	Mallaura-grāma	Malar (15°30' lat; 73°50' long)
5.	Khaḍga-grāma	Kaḍgaon (16°10' lat; 73°50' long)
6.	Shaṭshashṭi	Salsette
7.	Gōvāli-grāma	Not known
8.	Māmiṇi	-do-

1 *AREp.*, 1927-28, No. 387 and *Ibid.*, 1928-29, pt. II, p. 82, para. 56.

2 *SII.*, Vol. XX, No. 231.

3 *Arch. Sur. Report*, 1907-08, p. 238, n. 2

4 Dvīpa is nothing but a contracted form of Rēvatī-dvīpa and is identical with Gōvā. The name Rēvatī-dvīpa occurs in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.—Above, Vol. VI, p. 5, text line 6.

9.	Kapila-grāma	Not known
10.	Piryala or Pariyala-grāma	-do-
11.	Chandra-grāma	-do-
12.	Kulavana-grāma	-do-
13.	Bhallāvalī-grāma	-do-
14.	Mōraṁbyavv-āgrahāra	-do-
15.	Brahmapuri	-do-
16.	Aṁturuja	-do-

Apart from these villages the territorial divisions *viz.*, Gōvā-dēśa-saptari, Aṁturuja-12 and Triṁśad-vāṭikā-dēśa are mentioned. All these divisions have to be located in the present day Union Territory of Goa.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1 to 9, 11 to 18, *Anushṭubh* ; verse 10, *Śālinī*]

First Plate [2]

1 Srī[3] (Śrī)-Mahā-Gaṇapatayē namaḥ I Namas=tuṅga-śira-
2 ś-chuṁbi-chaṁdra-chāmara-chāravē I trailōkya-nagar-ā-
3 raṁbha-mūla-staṁbhāya Śaṁbhavē II [1 II*] Harer=1īlā-vatārasya[4]
4 daṁshṭrā-daṁḍaḥ sa pātu vaḥ I hēm-ādri-kalaśā yatra dhātrī-ksha(chchha)tra-
5 śriyaṁ dadhau I [I 2II*] Svasti [II*] śrīm[3]ad-aśēsha-sāmaṁta-śi(sī)maṁtinī-sīmaṁta-śiṁ(siṁ)-
6 dūr-ānuraṁjita-charaṇ-āraviṁdē I uddaṁḍa-bhūpāla-maṁḍala-bhujā-daṁ-
7 ḍa-chaṁḍima-khaṁḍana-kōdaṁḍē I nija-pratāp-āsādit-ākhil-ā-
8 vani-maṁḍalē I pūrva-dakshiṇa-paśchima-samudr-ādhiśvarē I śrīma[3]n-ma-
9 hārājādhirāja-rājaparamēśvara-śrī[3]-vīra-Ḥariharārājē I[5]
10 rājyaṁ śāsati I tan=nirūpita-Gōvā-siṁhāsanē I sakala-vē
11 d-ōpanishan-mārgga-pravarttak-āchāryaḥ I śrauta-smārtta-dharmma-ni-
12 rataḥ I pavitrīkṛita-Bharadvāja-gōtrō dvivēdī Chauṁḍi-bhaṭṭ-ā
13 tmajaḥ saptarshi-tapō-mūrttimat-Saptanātha-liṁga-pratishṭhāpakaḥ I

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1 From estampages.

2 On the top of the plate, left of the hole, the following is engraved faintly in Telugu characters : *ōṁ namaḥ śrī- Vidyāraṇya-gurubhyāḥ (bhyaḥ)*.

3 There is an unnecessary medial *ē* sign on top of this letter.

4 Read °-varāhasya.

5 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

PLATE-I

i

K. V. Ramesh Scale : One-Half *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLII

ii a

14 Sri[1] (Srī)-Triyaṁbaka-dēva-charaṇa-kamal-ārchchana-prasada-labdha-rājy-ō-

15 dayaḥ sa-mahīpāla-mauli-māl-ālaṁkṛita-charaṇa-yugalaḥ ||

16 nānā-rāshṭra-saṁbhūta-śaraṇ-āgata-kshiti-pāla-pālan-āti-chatu-

17 raḥ | sakala-vairi-bhūpāla-kul-āṭavī-pradahana-pratāpa-dāvāna-

18 laḥ | sri[1] (śrī)man-Mādhava-mantrīśvaraḥ sva-mātṛi-Māchaṁbikā-nāmadhē-

19 yam=agrahāram=akarōt | tasy=āgrahārasya nirṇṇayaḥ | Gōvāli-grā-

20 ma-saṁbhūta-kara-rāyaja-ṭaṁkakāḥ |[1] sah-āshṭāviṁśatiśatāḥ sa-

21 dvāviṁśati jaithalāḥ | [|13*] Mauli-grāma-kar-ādāyō navatriṁśat-sama-

22 nvitaṁ |[2] dviśataṁ rāja-ṭaṁkānāṁ jaithala-dvādaś-ānvitaṁ | [14*] ēvaṁ grā-

Second Plate : First Side[3]

23 ma-dvay-ādāya-saṁkhy=aikatra nigadyatē | sa-saptashashṭitriśataṁ sa-chatu-

24 striṁśa-jaithalaṁ | [|5*] ētad=grāma-dvayaṁ Triṁśadvāṭikā-dēśa-madhyamaṁ | paṁg-ādi-sarva-

25 rāj-ōkta-bādhābhiḥ parivarjjitaṁ | [|6*] kṛitvā sarvanamasyaṁ cha tad=grāma-dvitayaṁ pu-

26 naḥ | ēkīkṛity=aika-sīmāṁtaṁ kṛitvā sīmāḥ prakalpya cha | [|7*] pūrvasyāṁ rājamā-

27 rgasya prākārō diśi dakshiṇē | Gōvālī-Māmiṇī-madhya-nimnaṁ paśchimataḥ

28 punaḥ [|| 8*] bhaṭhṭhikā talavalyōscha(ś=cha) tiryag-lagnā-nadī tataḥ | uttarasyāṁ diśi

29 prāvṛid-vāri niḥśa(sa)raṇiḥ smṛitā | [| 9*] ēvaṁ prāk-chatuḥ sīm-āṁtargataṁ grā-

30 maṁ Māṁchalāpuram=iti sva-mātṛi-Māchāṁbā-nām-āṁkitaṁ kṛitvā

31 Māṁchalā-samudr-ākhyasya taṭākasya cha [s]ētuṁ badhvā īśānya-pa-

32 rvat-ōdbhūta-nirjhar-ōdakasya Mādhava-tīrtham=iti nāma[4]dhēyam vidhā-

33 ya tad=udakaṁ Māṁchalā-samudra-taṭāk-ōdakaṁ cha nav-ōdyamita-pū-

34 gī-vana jīvanāya datvā |[5] tat=samīpaṁ ramya-harmyāṁ brahmapurīṁ kṛi-

35 tvā |[5] trayōdaś-ōttara-triśat-ādhika-sahasra-saṁkhyē Śākē Prajā-

36 pati-saṁvachchha(tsa)rē Chaitrē māsy=amāvāsyāyām=aṁgāraka-dinē sūry-ō-

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1 There is an unnecessary medial ē sign on top of this letter.

2 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

3 On the top of the plate *Śa. Gō. Bha. Kra. Jō. Nā. Bām. Aṁ. Gōvā.* are engraved in Nāgarī characters. The dots indicate punctuation marks. See n. 1 in p. 121.

4 The letter *ma* is engraved above the letter *nā* in small characters.

5 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

37 parāga-kālē |[1] Dvīpē srī(śrī)-Saptanāthadēvasya sva-kula-svāmi srī(śrī)-Tri-

38 yaṁbakadēvasya cha saṁnidhau | sad-ācharaṇa-pavitrīkṛita-nij-ānvayē

39 sad-vipra-purōhitē samīpagē sati |[1] nānā-dēśa-samāgata-vidva-

40 d-vargaṁ cha saṁnidhāpya |[1] vakshyamāṇa-nāma-gōtrēbhyō dvādaśa(śē)bhyō brāhma-

41 ṇēbhyaḥ |[1] kramēṇa charaṇa-dvaṁdvaṁ prakshālya sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka-dhārā-pūrvakaṁ sarvana-

42 masyaṁ sakala-rāja-bādhā-vivarjitaṁ nidhi-nikshēpa-sahitaṁ śāsanī-

43 kritya sva-mātṛi-śrēyasē srī[2](śrī)-Mādhava-mahīpālō Māṁchalāpuram-agrahāraṁ prādā-

44 t || tēshāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ nāmāni gōtrāṇi ch=ōchyaṁtē | Kapila grāmāt

45 Kēśava-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ |[1] Gōviṁda-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1] Atri-gōtrāḥ | 1 | tatraivadhai ||[3]

46 Ā[ma]dēva-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ |[1] Viṭhṭhala-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1] Naidhṛiva-gōtrāḥ | 2 | Vēra-grāmā-

Second Plate : Second Side

47 t |[1] Kēśava-paṁḍita-putrāḥ |[1] Sōna(ma)nātha-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1] Kauśika-gō-

48 trāḥ | 3 | Mallaura-grāmāt |[1] Dharmadēvajña-Māiṁdēva-paṁḍita-putrāḥ |[1] Īśvara-bha-

49 ṭṭāḥ |[1] Gautama-gōtrāḥ | 4 | Kapila-grāmāt |[1] Narasiṁ(siṁ)ha-kramavid-putrāḥ |[1] Gō-

50 viṁda-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1] Bharadvāja-gōtrāḥ | 5 | Vēra-grāmāt |[1] Bhānu-paṁḍita-putrāḥ |[1] Hēmādri-paṁḍi-

51 tāḥ |[1] Kauśika-gōtrāḥ | 6 | Kapila-grāmāt |[1] Gōviṁda-prabhu-putrāḥ |[1] Kēśava-sha-

52 ḍaṁgavidaḥ |[1] Atri-gōtrāḥ | 7 | Khaḍga-grāmāt |[1] Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ |[1] Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1]

53 Naidhṛiva-gōtrāḥ | [8 |*]Piryala-grāmāt |[1] Kēśava-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ |[1] Gōviṁda-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1] Bharadva-

54 ja-gōtrāḥ | 9 | Chaṁdra-grāmāt |[1] Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ |[1] Padmanābha-bhaṭṭāḥ |[1] Bharadvāja-gō-

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1 This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

2 There is an unnecessary medial *ē* sign on top of this letter.

3 The intended reading seems to be *tatratya ēva*.

PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313

PLATE-II

ii b

K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

55 trāḥ I 10 I Kulavana-grāmāt I[1] Rāmadēva-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ I[1] Janārddana-paṭṭavarddhanāḥ I[1]

56 Kāśyapa-gōtrāḥ I 11 I Bhallāvali-grāmāt I[1] Bhānu-bhaṭṭa-putrāḥ I[1] Vāmana-bhaṭṭāḥ I[1]

57 Kauśika-gōtrāḥ I 12 I sarvē=mī Rug(Rig)vēd-ādhyāyinaḥ I ēshāṁ madhyē yō=grahāraṁ

58 tyaktvā sthityā saḥ=ānyatra gachchhati tad-bhāgaṁ sthitāḥ sarvē vibhajy=ā-

59 śnīyuḥ I a-svāmikē='ṁśē pārśvastha-gṛih-ānumatyā sarvaiḥ sthāpitō-bhyā-

60 gatō vasēt I sv-āṁśa-vikrayaṁ dānaṁ vā sarv-ānumatēna kuryāt I vi-

61 n-ānumatyā dāna-vikrayau kurvan=vikrētā krētā ch=obhav=āpi rāñā daṁḍyau

62 II anyach=cha I saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-pratipad-dīpalik-ōpāyana-prabhṛitayō rājñō=

63 nyēshāṁ cha sarv-ōpadaḥ I taravāla-paṁjikā I chatasṛishu nadishu tari-paṁ-

64 jikā I sarva śulkaṁ cha I lēkhaka-vaṇijaka-mālākāra-nauvāhaka-rajaka-

65 sthapati-ka(ka)rmmāra-kramuki-vṛiksha-baṁdhaka-charmmakār-ādīnām=aśesha-kāru-pra-

66 jānaṁ dasa-daṇakāni kārukaṁ ch=ēty=ādi sarvam=ētad=asy=āgrahāra-

67 sya mānyaṁ I ēvaṁ ṣa(sa)rvamānyaṁ sarva-bādhā-vivarjitaṁ yāvad=ā-chaṁdra-tārakam=ēta-

68 t=saṁtān=-ōpabhōg-ārtthaṁ I svasya cha I śarach-chaṁdra-chaṁdrikā-viśuddha-kīrttayē

69 śāsanīkṛitya I[1] paura-jānapad-anēka-nagarān sannidhāpya Shaṭshashṭy=Āṁ-

70 turuja-dvādaśa-dēśa-Gōva-dēśa-saptat=ity=ādi-samasta-dēśa-sannidhā-

71 v=ētat=śāsanaṁ[2] prāyachchhat I bhāvi-nṛipaiḥ pālana-guṇa-gadita-puṇṇya-

Third Plate[3]

72 lābhay=ēdaṁ śvē(svē) śvē(svē) kālē paripālanīyaṁ I Sāmāny=ōyaṁ dharmma-

73 sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ I sarvan-ētān=bhā-

---

1 This daṇḍa is redundant.

2 *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Read *ētach=chhāsanaṁ*.

3 The following is engraved on the top of either side of the hole in modern Nāgarī characters :

To the left of the hole : 1 *Śrī-Nāgēśa-Bāṁdivadē*

2 *Aṁtruja-Gōvā.*

To the right of the hole : 1 *Rāghōbā-Gōvi(viṁ)da-bhaṭṭa-krama-*

2 *va(vi)ṭ-jōśī.*

74 vinaḥ parthivemdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachamdraḥ II [10*] Bahubhir=vasu-

75 dhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ I yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ

76 sta(ta)sya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) II [11*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhye dānātsrē(ch=chhrē)y=ō-

77 nupālanaṁ(nam) [I*] dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padaṁ(dam) [12*] Gāṁ

78 paṁkād=brāhmaṇīṁ dāsya(syā)d=bhūmīṁ lōpād=dvijaṁ vadhāt I mōcha-

79 yan=muchyatē pāpād=ā-janma-maraṇ-āṁtikāt II [13*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ

80 vā yō harechcha(ta) vasuṁdharāṁ [I*] shashṭir=varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭāyāṁ jā-

81 yatē krimiḥ II [14*] Akshi-pakshma-samutkshēpa-kshaya-kshayiṇi jīvitē [I*]

82 yō dvijād=āharet=kshōṇiṁ tasy-āvichau kshayō kshayaḥ II [15*] Gāmaṁ(m=ē) kāṁ

83 ratnikām=ēkāṁ kanyāma(m=ē)kāṁ tath=aiva cha I haran=narakam=āpnōti

84 bhūmēr=apya(py=ē)kam=a[ṁ*]gulaṁ(1am) II [16*] Ēk=aiva bhaginī lōkē savētāṁ[1] cha mahā(hī)-

85 bhṛitāṁ I na bhogyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuṁdharā II [17*] Bhūmir-bhā-

86 ryā va(ta)thā gāvō hiraṇyaṁ ch=āpaharitaṁ n=āvedayati rājānaṁ sa

87 dvijā vra(bra)hma-ghātakaḥ[2] II [18*]

88 [3]Śrī-Triyaṁbaka-śrī[4]

89 Anych=cha pūrvaṁ Kadaṁb=ādi-rājabhiḥ dvādaś-ādhikāriṇāṁ jyōtir=[5]vi

90 daṁ=any=aishaṁ cha Kapila-Khaḍga-Kulavana-Mōraṁbyavv-āgrahāra-

91 Pariyala-Braṁ(Bra)hmapury=ādi-datt-āgrahāra-tāmra-śāsanāny=āvalō-

92 kya tāni dattāni samyak paripālya Māchalāpur-ādīny=agrahārā-

93 ny=asmarbhi[6] dattāni bhāvi-nṛipair=api pālana-guṇa-gadita-puṇya-

---

1 Read *sarvēshāṁ*.

2 More correct form of this verse is :

Gāvō bhūmiṁ tathā bhāryāṁ ākramya hara mā naya I

śrāvayanti hi rājānaṁ brahma-hatyā cha limpati II

Above, Vol. IV, p. 197, lines 31-32.

3 Lines 88 to 95 are engraved in Telugu characters.

4 Lines 88 and 95 are engraved in bigger characters.

5 The *rēpha* sign is engraved at the beginning of the 90th line.

6 Read *asmābhir=*

PANJIM PLATES OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, ŚAKA 1313—PLATE III

iii

K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

SEAL

K.V. Ramesh Scale : One-Third

94 lābhāy=ēmāni śāsanāni svē svē kālē paripālanīyāni [||*]

95 Śrī-Triyambaka-śrī [||*][1]

1 On the reverse of the plate the following is engraved in the Nāgarī characters. The dots in between are punctuation marks. *Rā. Gō. bha. kra. jō Nā.* [*b*]*ā. Amma. Gōvā.* On the strength of the matter engraved on the top of the 4th plate the abbreviations can be expanded as : *Rā: Rāghōbā; Gō: Gōvimda; bha: bhaṭṭa; kra: kramavid;* [*j*]*ō: jōśi; Nā: Nāgeśa,* [*b*]*ā: bāmdivāde; Amma: Ammuraja.*

No. 17—TWO GAṄGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT

(*2 Plates*)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore

The two subjoined hero-stone inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were copied from Kaṭṭaraśampaṭṭi[1] and Muttāṉūr,[2] Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamilnadu. These stones are called Vēḍiyappaṉ. The inscriptions are in Tamil language engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the eighth century. Of these two records, the one from Kaṭṭaraśampaṭṭi hereinafter called *A*, is dated in the forty seventh year of the reign of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra, while the other from Muttāṉur, hereinafter called *B*, is dated in the eighteenth year of the reign of Śiripuriśaparumar (i.e., Śrīpurusha) of the same family.

A. *Kaṭṭaraśampaṭṭi Inscription of Śivamāra, year 47.*

In this hero-stone the hero is depicted with a dagger in his uplifted right hand and bow in his left arm. He is depicted in fighting stance with his feet firmly set on the ground and the entire body is seen in its right profile. To the left of the hero is carved a *chauri* at the waist level. Below the bow, to his left, is the depiction of a shrine-like object, the significance of which is not known. There are 4 lines of writing above the sculptured relief and 3 more shorter lines on the proper right of the sculpture.

As has been stated above the inscription is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters. Some of the salient features of the script may be examined here. The letters like *y*, *n*, and *t* have not been well-developed. The letter *y* has a loop in the formative stage as seen in line 5, while in lines 3 and 4, the median lines show a curve to the left. The letter *t* has a prominent curved upper part (lines 1 and 2) and is little angular with its lower curve extended horizontally to its left.[3] The letter *m* has a cross-bar on the right side which has taken the shape of a loop in the course of running hand unlike the earlier form showing a stroke in the right vertical arm as seen in some of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions of this region. The letter *ru* (line 1) has a curve at the lower end of the vertical stroke.

The words like *araiśaru* (line 2), *-Ilaiaru* (line 3) with the euphonic ending is a characteristic feature of early Tamil inscriptions. But since the record is of the 8th century by which time the Gaṅgas had gained hold over the region, this might as well be an influence of the Kannaḍa language. It can be compared with similar expressions occurring in the records of Mahendravarman and his successors.[4]

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1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, No. B 220.

2 *Ibid.*, No. B 224.

3 A similar form can be seen in the inscriptions of 7th-8th century from Vēdarattakkal, Krishnagiri Taluk, Dharmapuri District. (See *A.R.Ep.*, 1979-80).

4 R. Nagaswamy : *Chengam Nadukarkal*, pp. 6 ff.

TWO GANGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT
—PLATE I



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

The inscription records the death of one Aṇayāṇḍi in a fight which ensued when he fell on Vāṇigach-chaḍaiyaṉār Veṭṭakkiyar,[1] a servant or soldier of Teḷiyan-Iḷaiāru, the son of Kanda-Vāṇadi-araiśaru who was administering Puṟamalai-naḍu in the 47th regnal year of the illustrious Śivamāraparumar. The fight took place at Kūḍal where Veṭṭakkiyar had set up camp.

There were two rulers bearing the name of Śivamāra in the Western Ganga family of Taḷakaḍu. Of these, the second ruler of that name ascended the throne sometime after 788 A.D. in which year his father Śrīpurusha's reign ended. Since Rāchamalla I was on the Western Gaṅga throne by 816 A.D., Śivamāra II could not have ruled for more than twenty-eight years at the most (between 788 and 816 A.D.). As it is, the latest date known for his reign is his 23rd regnal year.[2] Śivamaravarman of our inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with Śivamara II.

On the other hand, we already know from circumstantial evidence, that Śivamara I ruled for as long as 46 to 47 years. His Haḷḷagere plates[3] are dated in Śaka 635 (713-14 A.D.) and were issued in his 34th regnal year showing thereby that he ascended the throne sometime in 679-80 A.D. We know that his grandson Śrīpurusha, who directly succeeded him, ascended the throne in 725-26 A.D., thus yielding for Śivamara I a reign period of around 46 to 47 years. It is very likely that the hero-stone inscription under study belongs to the very last year of his reign.

Of the geographical names occurring in this record, the territory of Puṟamalai-nāḍu, which obviously lay outside (*puṟam*) the Malai-nadu, included the Harur and Uttangarai Taluks of Dharmapuri District. Kūḍal, which was the scene of the fight, has been identified elsewhere with Guḍalur near Tīrthamalai in Harur Taluk.[4]

TEXT[5]

1 Śrī Śivamaṟaparumarku yandu naṟpatte-

2 ḻavadu Kanda-Vaṇṇadi-araiśaru Puṟamalai-nāḍ-a-

3 ḷa avar maganar Teḷiyan-I[ḷai]aru śevagar Vaṇi[ga]-

4 ch-chaḍai[ya*]ṉar Veṭṭakkiyar Kuḍal vanduviḍa a[var]-

5 [me][|*] A[ṇa]yaṇ(ṇ)-

6 ḍi ninṟu śe-

7 ṉṟu paṭṭar [|*]

---

1 It is mentioned in a record of the third year of the reign of Śivamāra I that one Vāṇaperumāṉ attacked Kūḍal which was situated in Puṟamalai-nāḍu. He was in inimical terms with Kanda-Vāṇṇadiyaraiyar, the ruler of the same division (Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 276-77).

2 *AREp.*, 1972-73, No. B 279 and Introduction.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, (Rev) Md. 35 (III Md. 113) and plate XVII, pp. 219 ff and Introduction p. LXXXV and p. LXXXVIII.

4 Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 277.

5 From inked impression.

B. *Muttanūr Inscription of Śrīpurusha, year I [8]*

This inscription is engraved on top and either side of a sculptured representation in the centre. The hero is depicted with his face turned to his left. He holds a bow in his left hand while his raised right hand holds a pointed dagger. Behind him is carved a jar with a lid. There is a shrine like object in his front, placed below the bow.

As has been stated above the inscription, in 8 lines, is in Tamil language and Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters. The following **palaeographical** features are noteworthy.

The letter *y* does not show a clearly formed loop. The median semicircle, standing for the middle vertical, is not connected with the boat like base. The letter *t* is little angular in form. The letter *n* has a curved lower portion as in the inscription of Śivamāra I discussed above. The letter *ru* has a loop at the bottom.

The inscription records that while Amaraḍakkiyār was ruling over the western division of Puṟamalai-nāḍu, during the 18th[1] regnal year of Śiripuriśaparumar (Śrīpurushavarman), Kāmaiyaṉār of Veḷāl-nāḍu undertook a cattle-raid at Koṟṟamaṅgalam and on that occasion Vaḍamachchāttaṉār, a servant of Amaraḍakkiyār lost his life.[2]

The name Śiripuriśaparumar, no doubt, refers to the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. He may be identified with the successor of Śivamāra I, whose last year is known from his Kaṭṭaraśampaṭṭi record dated in the forty seventh year of his reign (725-26 A.D.). We know from epigraphical sources that Śrīpurusha ascended the throne sometime in 725-26 A.D. Our inscription may therefore be assigned to 743-44 A.D.

The Western division of Puṟamalai-nāḍu which was being administered by Amaraḍakkiyār comprised the area around Kṛishṇagiri, Morappūr, etc.[3] The place of the cattle-raid, Koṟṟamaṅgalam cannot be identified.

TEXT[4]

1 Śrī Śiripuriśaparumaṟku yāṇḍu padi[ne]ṭṭu[ā]-

2 vadu Amaraḍakkiyār Puṟamalai-nāṭṭu-mēṟ-

3 kūṟ-āḷak-Kāmaiyaṉār Veḷāl-nāṭṭu

4 niṉṟu vandu Koṟṟamaṅ-

5 galattut-toṟuk-koṇḍa ñā-

6 ṉṟu Amaraḍakkiyār śēva-

7 gar Vaḍamachchāttaṉār

8 paṭṭār[|*]

---

1 Contra : *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, No. B 224.

2 Contra : *Dharmapuri Kalvettugaḷ*, No. 1974/79, p. 62.

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1975-76, Introduction p. 6.

4 From inked impression.

TWO GANGA RECORDS FROM DHARMAPURI DISTRICT
—PLATE II



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Half

No. 18—ON SOME GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM AFGHANISTAN

A.K. Narain, Varanasi

The discovery of the Bactrian Greek city at Ai-Khanoum is surely one of the most significant gifts archaeology has given to history during the last thirty years. The french team of scholars led by P. Bernard verily deserve congratulations for their momentous findings and all praise for the series of publications arising out of their work[1]. While the work at the site had to be stopped for reasons beyond the control of the scholars and the complete report

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1 For an up-to-date reference (to the best of my knowledge) to reports on Ai-Khanoum excavations and related studies see the following, some of which I have not been able to get hold of.

A. Excavation reports :

D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, (*Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année, Académie des Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres*) (1965), pp. 36-46; *BCH* P. Bernard and D. Schlumberger, *(Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique)* 89 (1965), pp. 590-657; *CRAI* (1966), pp. 127-933; Bernard *CRAI* (1967), pp. 306-24, (1968), pp. 263-79, (1969), pp. 313-55, (1970), pp. 301-49 (1971), pp. 385-453, (1972), pp. 605-32, (1974), pp. 280-308, (1975), pp. 167-97, (1976), pp. 287-322, (1978), pp. 421-63, (1980), pp. 435-59; Bernard, *PBA*. (*Proceedings of the British Academy*) (1967), pp. 71-95;

P. Bernard and others, *BEFEO* 63 (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Françise d'Extrême-Orient*) (1976), pp. 5-51, 68, (1980), pp. 1-103, *(Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum)* I, *Memoires DAFA XXI* (1973), 2 Vols.; O. Guillaume, *Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum* II (1983); H.P. Francfort, *Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum* III (1984). More volumes of *Fouilles d'Ai-Khanoum* are yet to come out.

B. Related Studies :

P. Bernard, *Syria* 45 (1968), pp. 111-51 (*Chapiteaux Corinthiens*), *Syria* 47 (1970), pp. 327-43 (*meubles en ivoire*); *Bulletin de la Société française Numismatique*, 34/5 (Mai 1979), pp. 517-20 (*inscriptions économiques sur vases*); P. Bernard et R. Audouin, *Revue Numismatique*, 15 (1973), pp. 238-89, 16 (1974), pp. 7-41 (*trésor de monnaies indiennes a poinçons multiples et de drachmes indo-grecques d'Agathocle*) 17 (1975), pp. 58-69 (*trésor de tétradrachmes*); Cl.-Y. Petitot-Biehler, *Revue Numismatique* 17 (1975), pp. 23-57; P. Bernard et O. Guillaume, *Revue Numismatique* 22 (1980), pp. 9-32 (*monnaies inédites*); H.— Francfort, *Arts Asiatiques* 32 (1976), pp. 91-98 (*Vases en Schiste*); P. Bernard, *Journal Asiatique* (1976), pp. 245-75 (*traditions orientales dans l'archi'tecture greco-bactrienne*); "Problems d'histoire coloniale grecque á travers l'urbanisme d'une cité hellenistique d'Asie Centrale" in *150 Jahre, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1829-1979, Festveranstaltungen und internationales Kolloquium* 17-22, April 1979 in Berlin (1979), pp. 108-20; P. Leriche, *Revue Archeologique* (1974), pp. 231-70 (*rempart Nord*); P. Leriche et J. Thoraval, *Syria* 56 (1979), pp. 171-205 (*fontaine du rempart ouest*); P. Bernard, *CRAI* (1976), pp. 299-302 (*le cadran solaire*); L. Janin, *L'Astronomie Astronom. Soc. Canada* 74 (1980), pp. 271-78; R.R. J. Rohr, *J. Royal Astronomical Society of Canada* 74 (1980), pp. 271-78; S. Veuve, *BCH*, CVI (1982), pp. 23-51; C. Rapin, *BCH*, CVII (1983), pp. 315-71; F. Grenet, *BCH*, CVII (1983), pp. 373-81; J. Filliozat, *Arts Asiatiques* 26 (1973), pp. 113-21; A.K. Narain, "Two Hindu Divinities on the Coins of Agathocles from Ai-Khanoum", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1972,1973), p. 73 f.; *"On the Greek Epigraphs from Ai-Khanoum", Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Bulletin of the Indian Epigraphical Society*, Vol. I (1975), pp. 97-103; P. Bernard, "Diodore XVII, 83, 1: Alexandrie du Caucase ou Alexandrie de l'oxus?," *Journal des Savants* (1982), pp. 125-38, pp. 219-42; F. Holt, *RN* (*Revue Numismatique*) 23 (1981), pp. 7-44, *American Journal of Archaeology* (1984), p. 248; P. Bernard and H.—P. Francfort, *Études de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Ai Khanoum* (*Afghanistan*), Paris CNRS (1978); P. Bernard, *Scientific American*, Jan (1982), pp. 148-59.

of the work done up-to-dte is awaited, it is clear from the material remains at the site and the available publications that here we have substantial evidence for a meeting of the Greek, the Iranian-more specifically bactrian or East Iranian-and the Indian elements. But statements made about the date of and its identity do not appear beyond question. Much reliance has been placed on the palaeography, contents and interpretations of some of the Greek inscriptions found at the site. They belong in two groups, one, the earlier monumental ones and two, the later writings on the ostraca found in the "Treasury" of the city. I propose to discuss here only some of them.[1]

In the first group the two epigraphs related to the temenos of Kineas and one which refers to a dedication made by two sons of Strato are relevant for our discussion.[2] The texts of these as read by L. Robert[3] are as below :

1. Ἀνδρῶν τοι σαφὰ ταῦτα παλαιοτέρων ἀναχεῖ[τα]ι
ῥήματα ἀριγνώτων Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέαι.
ἔνθεν ταῦτ[α] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας
εἵσατο τηλαυγῆ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει.

(*See* Plate 1.1 and *Fouilles* I, Plate 108)

2. Παῖς ὢν κόσμιος γίνου,
ἡβῶν ἐγκρατής,
μέσος δίκαιος,
πρεσβύτης εὔβουλος
τελευτῶν ἄλυπος

(*See* Plate 1.2 and *Fouilles* I, Plate 108)

3. Τριβαλλός
καὶ Στράτων
Στράτωνος
Ἑρμῆι, Ἡρακλεῖ.

(*See* Plate II.2 and *Fouilles* I, Plate 109)

These texts may be translated as below.

1. "These wise words to men of previous time,
are dedicated sayings of famous men, in the
holy Pytho. From where Clearchus inscribed them and
set them up in the temenos of Kineas so
that they shine far afield."

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1 I am thankful to Ms. Joyne M. Reycolds, C. Habicht and Jon D. Mikalson for their suggestions and criticism.

2 *Fouilles I*, pp. 207-37 and *CRAI*, 1968, pp. 416-57.

3 *Fouilles I*, pp. 208, 211 and 213,

2. "Being a child, be well-behaved,
Young man, be master of yourself;
In the middle of life, be just;
Old man, be of good counsel;
On death, be without chagrin."
3. Triballos
and Straton [,]
sons of Straton [, dedicated]
to Hermes [and] Herakles.

The second group consists of nine of the fragmentary inscriptions on the Ostraca from the "Treasury" of Ai-Khanoum so far published. Their texts are as given below:[1]

1. Ετους ξδ'. [– –]
ἐλαίου ἐλαίνο [υ]
ἀποδεὴς α' τὸ μ[εταγγισθὲν]
ἀπὸ χεραμῖω ν [– – –]
τοῦ ἤμιο [λ] ίου χ [αὶ– – –]

(*See* Plate III.1 and *BCH* 1983, p. 320, Fig. 3a-b)

2. λῆπαρὰ [– – –
ἄβυα:' τὰχερα [– –
ἔλασσον [– – –

(*See* Plate III.2 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 324, Fig. 6a-b)

3. Παρὰ Ζήνωνος
ἠρίθμηγται
διὰ 'οξηβοάχου
χαὶ Οξυβάζου δρχ φ'
εσφράγισται'Οξηβοάχ ης

(*See* Plate IV.1 and *BCH*, 1983, pp. 325-26, Fig. 8a-b)

4. Παρὰ Τιμοδήμου
ἠρίθμηται διὰ
'Οξηβοάχου χαὶ
'Ερμαῖου ταξ [α] ηνὰ

(*See* Plate V.2 and *BCH*, 1983, pp. 326-27, Fig. 9)

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1. Out of more than two dozens of Ostraca inscriptions in Greek read by Rapin (*BCH*, 1983, pp. 315-71) I have listed only nine here because I found them sufficient to represent the content and character of the group. I have followed in general the readings as given by Rapin. It may be noted that some Ostraca have inscriptions in Aramaic which I have not included in our discussion here.

5. Παρὰ φίλισχου
χασαπαυα ταξαηνᾲ Α
σιὰ Ἀρυάνσου χαι Μ
Ετρα . . – – –
(*Sea* Plate V.I abd *BCH*, 1983, pp. 328-29, Fig. 10a-b)

6. Παρὰ φιλίσχον
νανδαγαχωραγα
ἠρίθμ [ητα]ι διὰ
[. . . 7–8 . .] ς χαὶ
'εογ. α [Μ] Α
(*See* Plate V.2 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 331, Fig. 12a-b)

7. [– – –] ετος τοῦ δευτερ – – – –[– – –]
[– – Ε]ρμαγου δςχ μδ – –
[– – –]. 4–5 .α. χαι . .υ. νδου ς'
[[– – –]σμασ. . τὰς ἀναφορὰς [– – –]
[– – –] θ. ου ου.ανος δρχ η'
[– – –] χξ'
(*See* Plate VI.1 and *BCH*, p. 332, Fig. 13a-b)

8. παρὰ Στράτωνος
σιὰ Μολοσσοῦ χαὶ
Στράτωνος χαί εὐ – – – –
...βαρα...δουλαιταρςου . Α
[χασα]πανα νανσηνά Μ
(*See* Plate VI.2 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 333, Fig. 14a-b)

9. Διὰ χοσμου σοκίμου αφ [γυρίου]
δεδοχίμασται διά Νιχηρά [του]
ἐσφράγισται αὐτὸς Νικήρατος
(*See* Plate VII.1 and *BCH*, 1983, p. 338, Fig. 19a)

These texts may be translated as below:[1]

1. "Year 24, [— — —]
(contained) in olive oil
the oil jar) partially empty—
? lacking a (stamnos) and a half (contains the oil) ? decanted
from two jars by [– – –]; [– – –].

1 Compare translations by Rapin, op. cit., pp. 315-71.

2. "38 (?); from [– – –]
   ? [– – –] minus [– – –].
   ?

3. From Zenon.
   It has been counted by Oxyboakes and Oxybazos 500 drachms.
   Sealed by Oxeboakes

4. From Timodemos.
   It has been counted by
   Oxeboakes and
   Hermaios (from ?) Taxila (?) – – –

5. From Philiskos
   in *Karsapana* (from ?) Taxila.
   10,000; by Aryandes
   and Stra[ton]; – – –.

6. From Philiskos,
   Nandagakhoraga.
   It has been counted by
   [– – –] and [– – –] (? sealed)
   10,000 (?)

7. [– – –] of the second – – –;
   – – –] of Hermaios: 44 drachms;
   [– – –] – – – and of Aryandes (?): 7 (?);
   [– – –] – – – the revenue [– – –]
   [– – –] – – – : 8 (?) drachms (?);
   [– – –] – – – 60 (?) drachms (?)

8. From straton;
   by Molossos and
   ? Straton; and – – –
   – – – and of Tarzos;
   [in *Karsapana* (from ?) Nand (?): 10,000.

9. By Cosmos [ ]
   in silver of good alloy; it has
   been verified by Niker(atos).
   Sealed by Nikeratos himself.

These documents no doubt relate to accounting and storage. Certain items of in-

formation strike us at first glance. They are personal and place names, the commodities counted or measred for deposit, and some numerals. Of the personal names, some are of 'Greek' and others are of 'Iranian' origins.[1] The place names appear to belong to the 'Indo-Greek' political geography.[2] The commodities so far known to have been deposited in the vessels are generally olive oil and coins. The latter includes both the Indo-Greek drachms and Indian *Kārshāpaṇas*.[3] While some of the numerals might refer to the year of deposit[4] most of them refer to the coins. Rapin has discussed these inscriptions, alongwith others, very thoroughly and one must refer to this notes for a comprehensive treatment of the entire material. My comments in the later part of this paper is limitted only to a few points for the time being.

First, let us discuss the three inscriptions of Group I.

Numbers 1 and 2 of this group are engraved on the base of a stele, forming part of a funerary monument. The first is an epigram which informs that a certain Clearchus had carefully recorded certain precepts of wisdom of the famous men of old which were exhibited in the holy Pytho, that is to say Delphi, and set them up, in the temenos of Kineas, so that they can be seen from afar. The second consists of the Delphic maxims to which a reference is made in number 1. This is inscribed on the right part of the same base which carries the text of the first one. The stele on which the whole text of the famous delphic maxims might have been inscribed has not been found. But it has been suggested that since the stele did not have enough space to accommodate the entire text of all the maxims the last of them had to be engraved on the base itself.[5] The text is an exhortation to acquire the fundamental qualities of man at each stage of life.

A fragmentary inscription, consisting of only seven letters, has also been found about one meter from the base of the stele; it is supposed to be the lower left angle part of the stele[6] It has been suggested that this is a part of the text of the 48th Delphi maxim.[7]

Both L. Robert and P. Bernard find in these inscriptions substantial evidence for their

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1 Eg. Greek : Zenon, Timodemos, Philiskos (also see Philoxenos in No. 19 of Rapin's list), Hermaeus, Strato, Nikeratos, Cosmos, and others; Iranian: Oxeboakes, Oxybazos, Aryandes, Tarzos and others like Xatrannos (No. 15 of Rapin's list). Sosipatros (=Saśiputra) of No. 18 of Rapin's list may be an Indic name.

2 E.G. Taxaena in No. 5 may refer tot Taxila and Nandaaga-khoraga and Nanda-(?) of Nos. 6 and 8 of Rapin's list may also refer to an 'agora' or 'chora' in the Indo-Greek kingdom, its identity being not clear. The fact that the Indian money *Kārshāpaṇas* are associated with these place names adds to this possibility.

3 *kasapana* is the Pali/Prakrit version of Sanskrit *Kārshāpana*. These are known to have been minted in silver and copper from about the fifth century B.C. in India and they continued to circulate until the first two centuries A.D.

4 Eg. 24 and 38 in Nos. 1 and 2 might refer to the year of deposit, see *infra*, p. 185. Other numerals clearly refer to the coins, *drachms* or *Kārshāpanas*.

5 *Fouilles* I, p. 223, *PBA*, p. 89.

6 *Fouilles* I, p. 216.

7 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

theory that the city of Ai Khanoum which could be Alexandria Oxiana,[1] was founded by Kineas supposed to be a Thessalian.[2] Clearchus is identified with his namesake who was a well-known peripatetic (from Soli in Cyprus) and one of the direct or indirect disciples of Aristotle.[3] It has been interpreted that Clearchus travelled to Delphi on his mission to obtain a first-hand copy of the Delphic maxims for the purpose of getting them engraved on the funerary *heröon* of Kineas, "to whom was granted the privilege of being buried in the very heart of the city."[4] This has been taken as indicative of the pious concern of the Hellenistic colonies for the preservation of their cherished goal.[5]

Kineas has been regarded as a Thessalian officer under Seleucus I, and he is supposed to have been the founder of the city, (because his burial has been found in the heart of the city), either on orders from Alexander or from Seleucus I who reconquered the eastern provinces of the empire in the years immediately preceding 303 B.C.[6] This is not the place to go into the whole discussion of the foundation of Alexandrian cities. But suffice it to say that the myth of seventy Alexandrias has already been cut to size and archaeology has refused so far to oblige. We have yet to find satisfactory evidence for atleast the far eastern ones among them. Also, there is hardly any reason to look for Alexandria Oxiana at Ai-Khanoum. Not ony it is too far east for Alexander's route, but the only reference for Alexandria Oxiana in Ptolemy places it in Sogdiana, in the region which lay between the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus.[7] Bernard is right in rejecting Tarn's proposal for Termez[8] but not in suggesting that Ptolemy has "mistakenly made two cities of one.[9] So far there is hardly anything in the archaeological and literary evidence to link Ai-Khanoum with Alexander's invasion, his route and foundation of a city by him in Badakshan. So also, the fate of Seleucus in his encounter against Chandragupta Maurya[10] hardly leaves ground for him to be so able as to order the founding of cities anywhere in Afghanistan, what to speak of so far northeast as Ai-Khanoum. Had he been strong he would not have lost four satrapies to the Mauryan king for a mere pleasantry gift of some elephants, and Stasanor would not have been allowed to remain untouched in Bactria.[11] Whether or not Eucratides named or renamed the city as

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1 Bernard, *PBA*, p. 92; *Journal des Savants*, 1982, pp. 218-42, esp. 235-36.

2 *Fouilles* I, pp. 217-22.

3 *Ibid.,*, pp. 225-35.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 105; *PBA.*, p. 90. He notes that Kineas "could have been simply some important *euergetes*, but I wonder if he might not have been the founder of the city."

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 235-36.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 106; *PBA.*, p. 92; *Scientific American*, 1982, p. 148. Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-22.

7 Ptolemy, VI. 12, see also Narain, "on the Foundation and Chronology of Ai Khanoum—a Bactrian Greek city", (Forthcoming article).

8 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 525; Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 41; B. Stavisky, *East and West*, 23 (1973), p.265.

9 *PBA.*, p. 92, note 4.

10 Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 8.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9; Diodorus, XIX. 48.

Eucratidia, as suggested by Bernard,[1] too, needs more examination. There are only two references for the existence of Eucratidia, one in Strabo[2] and another in Ptolemy.[3] Strabo does not give its exact or relative location. If at all, it might be in either of the two satrapies, Turiva and Aspionus, which were taken away from Eucratides by the Parthians.[6] Ptolemy locates it in his map much west of Alexandria-Eschate.[5] which, of course, is not of help because the identification of Alexandria-Eschate is not certain,.[6] But if the latter has to be identified with the modern Chodjend on the Syr Darya,[7] one must find a location for Eucratidia west of it.[8] In any case neither the numismatic evidence nor the historical factors justify associating the city at Ai-Khanoum in any meaningful manner with Eucratides.[9]

The evidence of a Thessalian origin for Kinas and his administrative relationship with Seleucus have been collected assiduously which only L. Robert could do. But he himself has noted that the name Kineas is not epichoric (*il n'est pas epichorique, lié a une seule région*).[10] Even if the Kineas of Ptolemaic Egypt was of Thessalian origin, and if Thessaly furnished a great contingent to Alexander's army, and if Robert's analysis of the Diodorus XVIII.7.2 is taken into account [11] there is hardly anything substantial to clinch his conclusion that our "Kineas was therefore a Thessalian, and not an Athenian or a man from the Cyclades, and that he was probably a Thessalian officer of Seleucus.[12] Be that as it may, and even if roots of Kineas go to Thessaly, what is there to place him under Seleucus? Hardly anything. Some Greek settlements in Bactria had taken place even before Alexander, in the Achaemenid times. Kineas, and for that matter others, may be considered as "Bactrian" or "Iranian" Greeks in the wider sense, whose ancestors from various Greek cities and nations

1 *Scientific American*, 1982, p. 154.

2 Strabo, XI. 11.2

3 Ptolemy, VII. 11.

4 For the context of it see Strabo XI. 11.2. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Narain, op. *cit.*, *pp.* 17, 23. These satrapies must have been in Margiana.

5 See the map in Italo Ronca, *Ptolemaios, Geographia 6, 9-12, Ostiran nd Zentralasien*, Roma, *1971*.

6 B.A. Litvinsky and N.O. Tursunon, *East and West*, 24 (1974), p. 89 f., D.W. Engels, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley, 1978, p. 103 note 19. They do not think Alexandria Eschate lies in Chodjend.

7 Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

8 I think one shold look for it in Margiana or in the western parts of Bactria rather than in the far eastern parts of it. If in Margiana, Eucratides, might have renamed Antioch-Merve as Eucratidia. On the other hand Cunningham may be right in stating that Eucratidia corresponds exactly with Khulm (cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, p. 108).

9 Compare the list of all the coins found in Ai-Khanoum (*Fouilles I*, pp. 203-04; *RN.*, 1974, pp. 6-4; 1975, pp. 23-57; see also Bernard's remark in *PBA.*, p. 92 that coins of Euthydemus predominate. For a discussion on the use of Eucratides' era and related issues see *infra*)

10 *Fouilles I*, p. 217.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-22.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 222.

vanquished by the Achaemenids, had been settled in the region.[1] This is not to deny the importance of our Kineas. Whether or not a Thessalian, and an officer under, or a protege of, Seleucus, Kineas can still be recognised as a citizen of means, a dignitary of the city on account of this eqigraphic evidence. It is surprising though that in a monument like the one we are dealing with his home and status are not specified. He might or might not have been the founder of the city.

So also, while the irresistible temptation to identify Clearchus as a disciple of Aristotle is understandable, there is no direct evidence to support it. The inscription only informs us that it was a Clearchus who had carefully recorded and engraved the maxims from holy Pytho and set them up in the temenos of Kineas in order that they could see from afar. The document does not say that this Clearchus was the well known peripatetic Clearchus of Soli of the fourth-third century B.C.[2] He could very well have been a "friend, philosopher and guide" of Kineas who might have visited Delphi and copied the maxims there, or he was a master of the ceremony who had circumspectly or wisely copied the maxims and organised the engraving and setting up of the text. According to Robert this Clearchus had actually transcribed the maxims at Delphi and that "in this well-turned epigram, which is not banal, not just a space-filler, he as insisted that he had made this transcription with care and intelligence, and that since these Delphic maxims circulated with variance it was an act of conscience on his part to bring to his compatriot on the oxus an authentic version of the text. (*C'est la conscience de philologue et dans un but moral et, pour ainsi dire, patriotique. Cléarque apporta a ses compatriotes sur l'Oxus un texte authentique, vérifié*).[3] But, while I can understand a layman, a "friend, philosopher and guide," asserting this fact in a public document I am not inclined to accept that a philosopher of eminence such as Clearchus of Soli would need to provide such an assurance. Moreover, what evidence do we have for a close association of Kineas with the well-known peripatetic ? And, if Clearchus was really the famous peripatetic from Soli, why should not the document, particularly the genre to which it belonged, say that? Announcement of this identity would have surely been of no less importance than the fact of careful copying of the maxim at Delphi. Unfortunately we have no evidence of the travels of the peripatetic Clearchus of Soli. Our Clearchus could be the master of ceremony and not his famous namesake in which case he would naturally take pride and announce the fact that the maxims had been carefully copied and engraved, emphasizing professional excellence.

The third epigraph of this group mentions the names of two brothers, Triballos and Strato, who were sons of a Strato. The short inscription does not give any other information about the individuals and the family but gives two more names which are of gods, Hermes and Herakles. L. Robert remarks that the elder son Triballos has a rare name but very normal

1 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-6. It may be relevant here to note that Alexander had sent his Thessalian cavalry home after Ecbatana and even those of them who chose to enlist themselves voluntarily he sent them home before crossing the Oxus because their hearts were no longer in their work (cf. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, Bk III. 19: V. 27).

2 Robert is candid in admitting *"apres tout rien ne le dit ni ne l'indique," Fouilles* I, p. 255.

3 *Fouilles I*, p. 224.

(*L'âiné a un nom rare, mais trés normal*).[1] It is related to the name of a tribe of Northern Thrace. He notes that as a personal name this is attested for a slave in Athens in the list of sailors[2] who died in the battle of Arginuses.[3] It is also known from the epigraph of another slave of the fourth century B.C. in Athens.[4] He draws attention to on the leg of one of the colossi of Abu Simbel in Egypt.[5] On the basis of these references L. Robert thinks that it is not impossible that Triballos in Bactria, like the father of the one from Abu Simbel was a descendant of a soldier or of an officer of the people, *Triballes*, conquered by Philip and Alexander.[6] He does not think it adventurous (*il n'est pas aventureux*) to deduce the military character of a part of the colonizers of Ai Khanoum and remarks that the name of Triballos and Triballes brings us to three different and contrasted extremities to the Hellenistic world,

> "*a la limite derniere du monde grec de cette époque : les Triballes sont proches du Danube; Triballos fils de straton a vécu dans l'Asie Centrale, sur l'Oxus, en bordure du Turkestan et en vue de l'Hindoukouch, du Caucase Indien; Hermolaos fils de Triballos inscrirait le souvenir de son passage sur le Nil ax frontieres du soudan. Ce sont les armées conquérantes qui avaient ainsi véhiclé ce nom, a la suite d'Alexandre. Tel peut etre le pouvoir d'évocation historique qui repose dans un nom.*[7]

But this seems to be an ardent imagination. Robert does not provide any evidence to substantiate the linkages. And what is more, he does not take into account at all the two Stratos. If proper names must be discussed to find out the ethnic origin or a meaningful genesis of historical role of a family, I do not see why we should be so selective in favour of one, even if it is exotic or rare, against two, for we have Strato, the son and Strato, the father. L. Robert dismisses consideration of the Stratos in just a sentence in parenthesis "(*car, en bactriane, le nom n'a pas du surgir dans la famille de Straton seulement a l'époque de cette inscription*)."[8] If Triballos is linked with the tribe of Triballes do we have the evidence to link the Stratos too to the same people? It would be more significant to trace the origin of the senior Strato, the father of Triballos and Strato, the junior. On the other hand, Strato is a familiar name in the history of the Bactrian and Indian Greeks. Not only there were two Stratos among the Indo-Greek kings[9] but also there were others whose names have been read

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

2 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, cf. IG., II.2.1951, 23; F. Bechtel, *Die Historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle (1917), p. 543. (It is much disputed whether it refers to the battle at Arginusae, or whether the inscription is to be dated in the early fourth century B.C.)

3 Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

4 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

5 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*; cf. A. Bernard, Rev. Ét. Gr., 1957, *Les inscriptions Grecques d'Abou-Simbel*, p. 30, n. 22.

6 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 209.

9 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 110-11, 146-48.

on the Ai-Khanoum "Treasury" Ostraca.[1] In the absence of any royal title attached to the name it is difficult to identify them with their royal namesakes. But surely they occupied a prominent status in the city of Ai Khanum. The Strato of the Ostraca inscriptions too may be a later member of this family. But if the inscription can be dated in the middle decades of the 2nd century B.C., which is not out of question,[2] their royal identity may not be ruled out, in which case Triballos would be the "left out" brother, who was either superceded in a succession struggle or who predeceased the brother Strato of the inscription.

It is true that Alexander's army included not only Macedonians but Greeks from various cities and nations as well as Iranians and mercenaries of different ethnic elements. Thracians were also part of it. But there is no evidence to indicate that the family of Strato, only one of whose sons had a Thracian name, was a part of the band wagon of Alexander. It is already known that there were people belonging to the various cities and nations from Asia Minor and Greece settled in Afghanistan even before Alexander, during the Achaemenid rule. Strato's family could be descended from either the pre-Alexander settlers or from the later wave of them; there is nothing to prove this way or the other. Generally the classical sou s give the city or national origins of the key officers and prominent personnel related to Alexander's campaign and to the time of his immediate successors. It is not uncommon for the "new" or "recent" settlers to remember or mention their national affiliations. On the other hand the absence of such announcements is understandable in the case of descendants of old settlers who had lived in the region for several generations and had become a part of the local milieu. So, unless there is definite evidence to bring Triballos from Thrace, and Kineas from Thessaly, either as part of Alexander's army or in the time of Seleucus I, we have no alternative but to accept them as part of the Bactrian Greek melting-pot, where names and identities of diverse nations had already been mixed up.

Thus the contents of these inscriptions do not provide definite connections with known historical persons and their activities, or with known historical events and other prosopographical indications, and therefore some of the vital criteria for dating the inscriptions are lacking in our case. Even the character of the monument does not offer a definitive clue, for according to Bernard it is the inscription referring to Clearchus which "luckily for architecture offers a precious chronological benchmark,"[3] and not the other way round. The archaeological contextualisation of Ai Khanoum also is of no help. Bernard admits the uncertainties in both absolute and relative chronology of the different periods of Ai Khanoum and notes "the extreme complexity of the stratigraphy and the architectural phases for the oldest periods."[4]

On palaeographical grounds L. Robert dates the Kineas-Clearchus epigraphs "from the beginning of the third century B.C."[5] and notes later "*On ne saurait dire de quand datait*

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1 Rapin, *BCH.*, 1983, pp. 328, 334; cf. inscription Nos. 5 and 8 in Group II above.

2 See *infra.*

3 Bernard, *Fouilles I*, p. 105

4 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

5 Robert, *Fouilles I*, p. 213.

ce document. Du moins est-il assure qu il était en place au début du III^e siecle au plus tard."[1] He dates the Strato-Triballos one "around the middle of the third century, not too early" (*"Je daterais cette inscription vers le milieu du III^e siecle, pas trop tot"*).[2] I cannot agree more with Robert in dating the Strato-Triballos epigraph about fifty years later than the Kineas-Clearchus ones. But I find it difficult to agree with him in dating the latter from the beginning of the third century B.C.

Robert observes[3] that the cutting of the Kineas epigram is "assuredly of the late Hellenistic era." Without going into the analysis of the form of each letter, as he did in the case of Aśokan inscriptions from Kandahar, he notes only that "for this epigram, as it happens and as Adolf Wilhelm has shown on several occasions, they chose a type of writing recalling the manuscripts, and that comparisons are to be made with the papyri." He concludes that "this text must be from the beginning of the third century, well before the inscriptions of Aśoka and noticeably before the act of enfranchisement of Hyrcania."[4] Aware of the difference in the forms of letters used in the epigram and the maxims on the same base, Robert notes that this difference is not on account of its chronology but because of its style, and that the maxims are not later in date. The epigram is in the lapidary style recalling the papyrus and that the maxims is in monumental.[5] Robert seems also to give more importance to the similarity and purpose of the monuments at Miletopolis and Ai Khanum than to palaeographic comparisons.[6] This is intricately linked also with his assumptions of the identities and dates of Kineas and Clearchus.[7] but it is interesting to note a irking ambivalence in his judgement when he concludes later,[8]

> *"On ne saurait dire de quand datait ce document. Du moins est-il assuré qu'il était en place au début du III^e siecle au plus tard. Il est inutile d'exposer par quelles conjectures on pourrait le situer dans le cours due IV^e siecle. entre la date que je viens d'indiques et la reconstruction du temple de Delphes apres 373."*

One may note here in passing that it is strange that in spite of this statement of Robert and Bernard's own observation about "the complexity of the stratigraphy and the architectural phases for the oldest period" and "the uncertainties in both absolute and relative chronology," the first stage of the temenos of Kineas has been dated in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C."[9]

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 223.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 210.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 213.
4 For the Hyrcanian document see, *Hellenica*, XI-XII, chapter VII, pp. 85-91, plate V. This is dated between 281 and 260.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 215
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.
7 For he dates Clearchus in the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. and feels assured that he was an immediate disciple of Aristotle. But see W. Walbank, *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, p. 248, where he dates Clearchus (c. 340-250 B.C.) and others. If Clearchus had met Megasthenes and had read his *Indika* as is generally agreed it is most likely that Clearchus was closer to the middle decades of third century B.C. and was certainly not an immediate disciple of Aristotle. See Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-34, note 167 for relevant discussion and sources.
8 Robert, op. cit., p. 223.
9 Bernard, *Fouilles I*, p. 105.

About he writing on the dedicatory epigraph of Strato-Triballos Robert observes[1] that it is "*profonde, large et aérée*," and the points for comparison are inscriptions of Hyrcania dated between 281 and 260, the two inscriptions of Aśoka in Kandahar of about 250 and at the latest the two examples in Media of the edicts of Antiochus III in 193, both strictly contemporary and however much different in their writing (*si différents dans leur écriture*). He notes that this inscription is short; it does not have *pi*, a characteristic letter (*ainsi il n'y a pas de pi, lettre assez caractéristique*). Robert would date this inscription "around the middle of the third century B.C.; not too early (*pas trop tot*)," and he cannot say "if it is still under the Seleucid regime or already when the kingdom of Bactria is installed."

The ambivalence noticeable in Robert's statements in respect of both the Kineas-Clearchus and Strato-Triballos inscriptions is understandable. Palaeographical evidence based primarily on letter-forms and style is far less precise and secure than often supposed and one must turn to it for dating only as a final refuge. As Woodhead has observed[2]:

> "It is at its most valuable in the early period, in the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries, when the continual and rapid development of the epichoric alphabets and their gradual assimilation to an Ionic koine– – – make it possible to suggest, on the basis of the appearance of the letters alone, a date sometimes within a decade or two."
>
> "By the end of the fifth century the letters and technique of writing them had completed their necessary development."
>
> "The introduction of new letter-forms may be dated in a general way, on the basis of inscriptions showing the new forms which are themselves datable on other grounds. This helps to provide a *terminus post quem* which may prove useful in other cases in which no additional criteria will serve to suggest a date. There is, however, seldom a *terminus ante quem*. Styles once introduced tend to persist, side by side with both earlier and later fashions. The classical style of the fourth century B.C. was never wholly eclipsed, even though the decorated and baroque styles of the Hellenistic period exceeded it for a while in general popularity, and it had – – – a marked revival in the classicising movement of the time of Trajan and Hadrian. Monumental inscriptions of buildings or imposing statue-groups and memorials often favoured a purity and simplicity of style at a time when monuments of lesser moment rioted in a profusion of exotic by-forms and a tedious abundance of apices. Thus it has proved possible for the most eminent epigraphic authorities to be widely at variance on the date of a text as assessed by the forms of its letters."
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> "Another point to remember is that a style is not everywhere uniform and contemporaneous. A fashion in one part of the Greek world does not necessarily permit a text from elsewhere, showing similar characteristics in its lettering to be assigned to the same period."

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1 Robert, *op. cit., p. 210.*

2 A.G. Woodhead, *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1981. Chapter V on "The Dating of Inscriptions".

The problem indeed becomes more compounded when this comparison involves a vast geography and diverse cultural elements and transformations, which cannot be ignored in the case of the epigraphs from Ai-Khanoum. The factor of place is no important than that of time. It has been noted that "Greek linguistic influence outside the centres of culture was variable and complex,"[1] and "the knowledge and use of Greek differed sharply according to locality even in a homeland of the "oriental Greeks."[2] I have already discussed elsewhere the numismatic epigraphy of the Indo-Greek coins and shown how unreliable it is to base conclusions on it alone.[3]

Something of a parallel to the letters of the Kineas Clearchus inscription may be seen in O. Kern, [4] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, No. 35 (from Tenos in the British Museum) published as IG. XII. 5, No. 872 where Hiller von Gaertringen compared papyrus hands of late IV-early III centuries, and then consulted M. Holleaux, who suggested late III or early II, and A. Wilhelm, who like Hiller, compared papyrus hands and opted for IV-III centuries.[5] This is an example to bear in mind. Joyce Reynolds and I have compared the illustrations of the inscriptions referred to by Robert e.g. the Teheran text published in *Hellenica XI-XII*,[6] which has to be between 281 and 261. We can see many points of comparison and occasional differences (notably over the two) but doubt very much if the differences are in any way decisive.

The terms of geographical horizon it is realistic to compare the Ai-Khanoum inscriptions with the four other inscriptions recently discovered in Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia, namely, the two Aśokan texts[7] and the fragmentary inscription of the hypothetical son of Aristonax at Kandahar[8], and the dedicatory one of Atrosokes at Takht-i-Sangin.[9] The last is nearest in location to Ai-Khanoum and naturally attracts our attention first. Litvinsky and Pichikyan, date this dedication of Atrosokes on the altar "to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., that is to the last decades before the fall of Graeco-Bactria."[10] The two Kandahar inscriptions are separated by only a few hundred yards from each other. It is generally agreed that the Aśokan edict there date from about the middle of the third

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1 R.B. Whitehead, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1950, p. 209.

2 *Ibid.*, 1944, p. 104.

3 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-59

4 Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Bonnae 1913, p. xv.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Cp. pl. V in *Hellenica* XI-XII. for ch. VII, pp. 85-91.

7 *East and West*, 1959, pp. 185-91; *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, pp. 1-48, Pl. IV, 1964, pp. 137-57; *CRAI*, 1964, pp. 126-40; *JRAS*, 1972, pp. 111-18.

8 P.M. Fraser, "The Son of Aristonax at Kandahar", *Afghan Studies*, Vol. 2 (1979), pp. 9-18.

9 B.A. Litvinsky and I.R. Pichikyan, "Monuments of Art from the Sanctuary of Oxus (North Bactria), "*Acta Antiqua, Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Tomus, XXVIII fasc. 1-4, 1980, pp. 25-83. Also, Litvinsky and Pichikyan, "The Temple of the Oxus," *JRAS.*, 1981, pp. 133-67, esp. p. 154. One may also recall here the 1974 discovery of the first Greek inscription in Bactria, at Nimlik-tepe, consisting of only five letters, ATPOΣ on a postsherd (cf. D. Schlumberger, *CRAI*, 1947,pp. 241-42). Could this be related to Atrosokos?

10 *Ibid.*, p. 63, also note 214: V.a. Livishits and Ju. G. Vinogrado agree with Litvinsky and Pichikyan, but some Soviet scholars are inclined to an earlier date i.e., "turn of the 3rd century - beginning of the 2nd century B.C."

century.[1] Fraser would like to propose a date of c. 275 B.C. for the fragmentary inscription referring to Aristonax.[2] But his ambivalence is clear when he observes that dogmatism on this point would be rash", that "a date between 300 and 275/250 seems likely to represent the overall limits", and that "this cannot be regarded as providing a precise date for the interpretation and historical context of the inscripiton.[3] While I propose to deal with the content and interpretation of the historical context of these three inscriptions in a separate paper, I still cannot see reason, at least on palaeographical grounds, to be so confident as

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1 Fraser dates the bilingual Aśokan edict of Kandahar in c. 258 and notes that "the date cannot be in doubt within more than a year so (259/8-285/7)", he gives his reasons, *op. cit.*, 10 and note 18 on p. 15. But this is open to many questions. It is true that the chronology of Aśoka's reign is fairly well settled, cf., P.H.L. Eggermont, *The Chronology of the Reign of Aśoka Moriya*, (Leiden, 1956), pp. 86, 144 ff, 161 and R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (O.U.P. 1961), pp. 32-33, but it is not so in the case of the engraving of his edicts D.R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, (University of Calcutta, 1955), pp. 244-53; R. Thapar, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff. The whole problem of the dating of the Aśokan edicts is being freshly examined in detail by me in a separate paper. It is clear that while the second Kandahar edict (the purely Greek one) of Aśoka is a part of the "Corpus" known as the "Fourteen-Rock-Edicts", the bilingual Kandahar edict does not belong in the category of "Minor-Rock-Edicts" but in the group of "independent" or "special" minor rock inscriptions (i.e., not like MREs., I and II but like the Bhabru edict). The Fourteen-Rock-Edicts is a package of documents, copies of which were engraved in different scripts and languages in ten locations, so far known, spread out in the various regions of Aśoka's empire. So also copies of MREs I and II were engraved in as many as thirteen (or 14) places. (D.C. Sircar, *Ep. Ind.*,, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 1). It is difficult to imagine that all the ten sets of copies of Fourteen-Rock-Edicts were engraved at one and the same time. But there is no reason to doubt that an individual set of copies were engraved at one and the same time at a particular site selected for it. This is evident, on the one hand, from the sequential arrangement of the fourteen inscriptions of the corpus and on the other hand, from the sequential arrangement of the fourteen inscriptions of the corpus and on the other hand from the varying dates in five of them without conforming to any sequence. Rock Edict Nos. III and IV refer to the 12th year, V to the 13th, VIII to the 10th and XIII to the 8th year after the consecration of Aśoka. And these dates are not the dates of their engraving but of some significant events, royal proclamations or dictations. One can only fix the chronological limits within which they must have been engraved. If the earliest limit can only be the 13th year after Aśoka's coronation the latest can be the 27th year after his coronation, if we follow D.R. Bhandarkar's view that the Fourteen-Rock-Edicts were engraved after the Seven-Pillar-Edicts. This means that these R.Es. were engraved between 256/1 and 242/1 B.C. Without going into the question of whether or not the M.R.Es and "independent/Special" minor rock inscriptions were engraved before or after the Fourteen-Rock-Edicts and/or Seven-Pillar-Edicts. the internal evidence of the Kandahar bilingual text indicates only that it could not have been engraved *before* "ten years were completed from Aśoka's consecration. It is not clear how long after the moment of Aśoka's showing of *Dhamma* to mankind was this inscription engraved at the far western end of his empire. Since this edict represents a summary of Aśoka's general principles of *Dhamma*, and recounts his own achievements and expresses hope for future, it is more likely that it was engraved in the later, rather than earlier, part of his reign. In any case I do not feel inclined to date it before c.250 B.C.

2 Fraser, *op. cit.* p. 10.

3 *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

Robert, and following him Fraser, in dating the Kineas-Clearchus inscription at Kandahar before that of Aśoka.[1] Perhaps more discoveries and less subjective approach may help in fixing their chronology.

One small but very significant piece of evidence does not permit much speculation.[2] Unfortnately it escaped the attention of Bernard. Among the bricks used in the construction of the tomb of Kineas there are some of exceptionally large size (53 × 49 cm. × 9 cm.) which were used to cover the sarcophagus. One of these which Bernard has illustrated in his report has a Greek monogram and a Brāhmī letter stamped on it. Both are juxtaposed in an incuse of rectangular frame. The monogram is and the Brāhmī letter is for *Jha*.[3] The monogram is very well known and has been a subject of discussion for long. It is agreed that it consists of three letters which according to some stood for Diodotus and indicated the phase of his career when he was reaching out for independence of Bactria.[4] According to others it denoted the usual mint or moneyer's mark but did belong to the period of Diodotus.[5] It was thought by some to represent Dionysopolis.[6]

The Brāhmī letter (*Jha*), though the standard and typical form known from the inscriptions of Aśoka, can be later than the time of Aśoka but not earlier. In Aśokan edicts this may be found in as many as thirteen places.[7] But this letter-form hardly registers any change in the century following that of Aśoka.[8] It is important to realise that Aśoka used Kharoshṭhī script and not Brāhmī for his edicts in Gāndhārā.[9] It is only after him that Brāhmī appears for the first time alongwith Kharoshṭhī, on some local "Negama coins from Taxila,[10] as well as on some bilingual coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, who were the only Indo-Greek kings to use Brāhmī instead of Kharoshṭhī, on them.[11] These coins and their

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1 Fraser notes that the second Kandahar edict of Aśoka is written in more cursive hand resembling in som respects the poem of Klearchos at Ai-Khānoum (*op. cit.*, p. 14, n. 2). It is not clear if he would date the Klearchos inscription, therefore, later than what has been proposed by Robert.

2 I refer to the bricks described by Bernard in *Fouilles I*, pp. 9-10, 87-88. Bernard notes (p. 9) that the significance of symbol on the brick escapes him (*La signification du second signe nous échappe*).

3 See Figure 'a', plate 97 in *Fouilles I*.

4 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 72-74; *contra*, Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 14-15.

5 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; Newell, *Eastern Seleucid Mints*, pp. 228-49, esp. 245-46.

6 Gardner, *NC*, 1879, p. 12; *contra*, H. Howorth, *NC*, 1888, pp. 293-99.

7 C.S. Upasak, *The History and Palaeography of Mauryan Brahmi Script*, Nalanda (Patna) 1960, p. 69. This is found in Rock Edicts of Girnār, Kālsi, Dhauli, Jaugada and Erragudi, Pillar Edicts of Delhi-Topra, Delhi-Mirath, Lauria-Araraj, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rāmpurva and Allahabad-Kosam, and separate Rock Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada.

8 See A.H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, Oxford, 1963, esp. 59-61 and compare pl. V a No. 6 for an example from Barli fragmentary inscription of first century B.C.; VI a, No. 2 for Sanchi series; No. 1 of early first century B.C.; No. 6 for Bharhut series; No. 1 of late first century B.C. It hardly registers any change until at least first century A.D. (See Dani, pl. VIII a too).

9 A.H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-61, who states "it was influence of Greek writing and Greek technicians that gave a new face to Indian Brahmi" (p. 60). One may also recall the use of Brāhmī by Heliodorus, an envoy of Antialcidas, king of Taxila, to Bhagabhadra in his Besnagar Pillar inscription.

10 E.J. Rapson, "Counter-marks on early Persian and Indian Coins, *JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 865-77.

11 Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, Chicago, 1966, pp. 9, 11 and pl. III, 9 and IV, 9.

significance have already been discussed elsewhere.[1] Bactria was not included in the empire of Aśoka, nor was it part of the territory ceded to Chandragupta by Seleucus. On the other hand, not only the bilingual coins, with Brahmi legend, of Agathocles have been found in Ai-Khanoum[2] but the Ostraca writings from its "Treasury" inform us about the *Kārshapanas* from Taxila reaching there.[3] Use of Brahmi letter in Ai-Khanoum can hardly be dated before the time of Agathocles, who reigned from c. 185 to 165 B.C.[4] The Kineas-Clearchus inscription therefore can hardly be in any case earlier than Aśokan edicts from Kandahar. Most probably it is dated from the third quarter of the third century B.C and not in the beginning of the third century B.C. as Robert thought. Since Robert is right in dating the Strato-Triballos epigraph about fifty years later than that of Kineas-Clearchus one, we would date that inscription in the second half of the second century B.C.[5]

Now returning to inscriptions which I have included in Group II, it is clear that they belong to a different category altogether. These writings on the Ostraca, which were found in the excavation seasons of 1977 and 1978, are documents of administrative nature and deal with accounting in what the excavators call the "Treasury". The medium and technique of writing and the material on which they are written are different from the inscriptions of Group I.[6] Comparatively they are larger in number[7] but they are so fragmentary that complete restoration of their contents is not possible.[8] But the message of their content is evident from what has survived.[9] While it is not assuring to comment on the nature, date and contents of these writings withot examining the material firsthand I cannot help making a few observations on some of them on the basis of the published information and illustrations.

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1 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; these coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles are definitely later than the local Negama coins of Taxila (see also Dani, *op. cit.* p. 60)

2 Bernard, *RN*, 1974, pp. 7-41; also Narain, *JNSI*., 1973, pp. 73-77.

3 Rapin, *BCH*, pp. 329-30. See supra, pp. 128-29, No. 5 in Group II and my translation of it.

4 See Narain, "The Earliest Brahmi Inscription outside India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1986, Also A.H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-62.

5 It may be noted that Strato I reigned from c. 130 to 95 B.C., see Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 110-11 and the chronological chart on p. 181. Also attention may be drawn to the Strato of Ostraca inscriptions of Ai Khanoum.

6 Most of these inscriptions are written in Indian ink while some appear engraved (*gravées*) after baking. (Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-17).

7 They are about forty in number written on thirty different vessels. They include 3 non-Greek writings, one graffiti and one estampage. As against these the monumental inscriptions are few in number which includes a fragmentary one consisting of only seven letters not included in our Group I above. In Group II, I have included only nine of the forty from the Ostraca.

8 With the possible exception of No. 3 of Grop II there is hardly any which is complete. Most of the selected ones in Group II have, however, only a few words missing. No. 2 has been selected in spite of its very incomplete nature because of the occurrence of the figure which may represent a date. About the fragmentary nature of these writings and their restoration, see Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-49.

9 Bernard and Rapin, *BEFEO*, 1980, pp. 10-38; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 ff. Bernard and Rapin think that these vessels are part of royal treasury. But I think the possibility that they could be part of a merchant-banker's warehouse needs consideration.

The "cursive capital type" of these Ai-Khanoum documents have been compared with those of the Mediterranean world, particularly of Ptolemaic administration.[1] Rapin, however, recognises that there is insufficient evidence to determine its typology[2]. After making some specific comparisons he admits that "in spite of evident signs of kinship, the comparison with the Ptolemaic palaeography does not allow in itself to date exactly our texts."[3] His statement that "let us say any way that they do not show any anomaly in relation to the writing current in the III century and in the first half of the second century B.C.,"[4] is not only a weak judgement indeed but it seems misleading. I do not see any reason to travel so far in the west to Egypt to explain the nuances of the writings so far in the east as Badakshan. Neither has any reason for the linkage between the two ends been given. I think it is a local development and clues have to be found in closer geographical limits.

No doubt these inscriptions are palaeographically later than those of Group I.[5] If the dates I have suggested earlier for the Kineas-Clearchus and Strato-Triballos inscriptions are accepted, these writings on the Ostraca may be dated from the second half of the second century B.C., that is, a couple of decades later than what Bernard and Rapin would like us to accept.

Some of these inscriptions have been supposed to refer to a date. At least in one of them "year 24" is mentioned.[6] Perhaps in another the figure 38 might also refer to a date.[7] It is not clear whether these figures refer to a regnal year or a date in calendrical reckoning system.[8] But Bernard and Rapin suggest that the year 24 is related to an era named after Eucratides.[9] This suggestion has already caught the imagination of others.[10] The problem

1 Rapin, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 350, "nos textes sont en nombre insuffisant pour permettre de dresser une typologie."

3 *Ibid.*, p. 350, "malgré des traits de parenté evidents, la comparaison avec la paléographie ptolémaïque ne permet pas, en elle-meme, de dater précisément nos texts."

4 *Ibid.*, p. 350, "Disons en tout cas qu'ils ne presentent aucune anomalie par rapport a l'écriture courante du IIIe siecle et de la premiere moitié due IIe av. J.-C."

5 This is accepted by Bernard and Rapin too. Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome, LXVIII, 1980, pp. 15-19; Rapin, *op. cit., pp. 349-51.*

6 No. 1 of Group II; cf. Rapin,*op. cit.*, p. 320, fig. 3 a-b.

7 No. 2 of Group II; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-24, No. 3, fig. 6. The last letter of before the numeral figure 38 is faintly visible in the Fig. 6a, the sherd broken at that point.

8 Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27, consider both the possibilities but in both cases like to tie it to Eucratides. It may be noted, however, that quite unlike the usual practice the inscription does not give the name of the king to whose regnal year or to whose era it is supposed to refer. Even the one and only instance of dating in an Indo-Greek inscription, i.e. the Bajaur Inscription known before Ai-Khanoum for example the name of the king, Menander, is mentioned after a possible numeral figure (see, Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 144 and *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 1-8).

9 Bernard &c., *BEFEO.*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27; Rapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-70

10 Fussman, *BEFEO*, Tome LXVII, 1980 pp. 36-42; Holt.

of dates and identification of eras are so vexing that I would prefer not to make it unnecessarily more complicated by introducing a new candidate,[1] particularly when the candidate is weak. I have already discussed the career of Eucratides in detail and have shown that the picture drawn of him by Tarn is not justified.[2] Since my last work on the subject I do not find any evidence substantial enough to change the image of Eucratides; though it delinks him from the Seleucid designs, it does not deprive him of the qualities of military leadership, and of his successes, to entitle him to be one of the half a dozen Indo-Greek kings, out of about forty, whose names alone have survived in whatever meager literary sources we have about them. The only new evidence brought to light is the reference in Aelian.[3] It states, in connection with the pearl-oysters of India, that there was "a city of which one Soras by name was ruler, a man of royal lineage, at the time when Eucratides was ruler of Bactria.[4] This is hardly more enlightening than the information we already have from Strabo[5] and Justin,[6] sources much earlier than Aelian. In fact Eucratides' contemporaneity with Mithridates known from Justin[7] is more rewarding in fixing his date than Aelian's reference to Soras. For the identity and date of Soras, who must be one of the Chōḷa kings of South India, is unknown.[8] If at all, a reference to Eucratides might help to locate the date of this Chōḷa king but not *vice versa*. This hardly adds to our knowledge to justify Bernard's answer to his own question: "Who was then the Greco-Bactrian king powerful and ambitious enough to take around the end of the first quarter of the second century B.C. the decision of creating an era of his own? It cannot be anybody else but Eucratides."[9] As we have noted, there were other "powerful and "ambitious kings also among the Greco-Bactrians in that period.[10] If we must look for a date in the first quarter of the second century B.C. for the beginning of an era to which the year 24 of the Ostraca might belong there is more than one claimant, e.g., Demetrius I and II, who ruled from c. 200-185 and 180-165 respectively, Agathocles who ruled from c. 180 to 165 and even Antimachus I (190-180). All these kings who were members of the rival family of Euthydemus appear to have much better claims than that of Eucratides in almost every respect.[11] If it is a question of "ambition" and

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1 I have discussed the problem of eras in the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions in detail in my forthcoming books on the Śakas and the Kushāṇas.

2 Narain, *op. cit.*, chapter III *passim*.

3 Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals* (Loeb classical library series, ed. and translated by A.F., Scholfield in 3 volumes, London, 1958) XV. 8. See also J.W. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 143-44.

4 *Ibid.*, XV.8 (Loeb series, Vol. 3, pp. 218-19).

5 Strabo, XI. 11-2, XV. 1.3.

6 Justin, xli. 6.

7 Narain, *op. cit.*,, p. 55.

8 K.A., Nilakantha Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India* (University of Madras, 1972), p. 61, note 1 according to whom Soras is from Sola (Tamil).

9 Bernard & c. *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27.

10 Narain, *op. cit.*, Chapters III and IV *passim*. It is relevant to recall here the statement made by Strabo (XI.11.1) about Menander.

11 For their dates and career, see Narain *op. cit.*, Chapters II and III and p. 181.

visibility, the number of commemorative medals issued by Agathocles[1] makes him too as a possible founder of the era used for the dating on the Ostraca. A quantitative analysis of the Indo-Greek coinage found in Ai-Khanoum also favours the Euthydemids as effective masters of the city rather than Eucratides,[2] who was in fact an interloper, who, in spite of his success against Demetrius, was murdered in cold blood by either his own son[3] or by a son of Demetrius.[4] Starting of an era and its usage by those who follow depends much upon the popularity of the person or the event, and above all its acceptance by those who come after. A parricide would hardly be interested in either starting or using a reckoning system from the date of Eucratides' accession to the throne. Nor would the rival family of Euthydemus and Demetrius be interested in remembering him. Moreover, there is nothing in the inscription itelf to link the name of Eucratides with the date. The only Indo-Greek king so far known to have been linked with a possible date in an inscription is Menander.[5] We have the option of using the Yavana era starting in c. 155 B.C.,[6] for dating the Ostraca inscription. But we must wait for more evidence before we can exercise that option. Palaeographically too I do not think of any problem in doing so. The inscription will then be dated in 131 B.C. In fact the occurrence of the name of more than one Strato in the Gymnasium as well as on the Ostraca is tempting to find linkages with Menander's family. On the other hand the role and visibility of Agathocles in Ai-Khanoum, use of Brāhmī letters by him and linkage with Taxila do not rule out Agathocles' accession and the occasion of striking the commemorative medals[7] as good reasons for starting a reckoning system. Be

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1 See for a discussion on the importance and significance of these medals, Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 446-51; Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56. The recent discovery of his medal commemorating his elder brother Pantaleon, probably from Ai-Khanum, further strengthens our belief (cf. Henri-Paul Francfort, "Deux Nouveaux Tétradrachmes commémoratifs d'Agathocle", *Revue Numismatique*, 1975, pp. 19-22 for this coin).

2 Compare the number of coins bearing the name of Euthydemus and those who may be associated with his family found at Ai-Khanum with those bearing the name of Eucratides. In the 1973 finding there was only one coin of Eucratides (*Revue Numismatique*, 1975, pp. 23-57). Earlier in the campaigns of 1965-68 at Ai-Khanum there were 7 coins of Euthydemus against 2 of Eucratides (*Fouilles* I, pp. 203-05). See also the numbers listed in F. Holt, "The Euthydemid coinage of Bactria : Further Hoard Evidence from Ai Khanoum", *Revue Numismatique*, 1981, pp. 7-44.

3 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

4 Tarn, p. 220, See also, A.D.H. Bivar, "The death of Eucratides in Mediaeval Tradition, *JRAS.*, 1950, pp. 7-13. Tarn's statement that he was killed by the Parthians is untenable, cf. G.K. Jenkins, *NC.*, 1951, p. 16; Narain, *op. cit.* p. 70;

5 "Bajaur Casket Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV; pp. 1-8, XXVII, pp. 52-58. Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80 and Pl. VI. 1.

6 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44; also Narain, "Date of Kaniska" in A.L. Basham (ed.).

7 Compared to Agathocles the commemorative medal issued by Eucratides commemorating Heliokles and Laodice is hardly impressive. The gold 20-stater is a freak issued to vaunt a sudden acquisition of wealth by an interloper. A later and not a very well known king Amyntas also issued large silver decadrachms and assumed the title of "autocrator".

that as it may, either Agathocles or Menander, but certainly not Eucratides. Bernard has, of course, not ruled out the possibility of accepting the year 24 as simply a regnal year of Eucratides[1] instead of belonging to an era starting from his accession. But there again, it does not go with the evidence we have about the length of his reign. Twenty four years is more than our evidence permits.[2] Moreover, there is the figure 38 in another fragmentary writing in Group II. If that too belongs to the same system we have to agree for at least 38 years of Eucratides' reign which is impossible. Whether or not Eucratides was the last king to have ruled over Ai-Khanum before its destruction, and other details, are matters of more discussion, which I propose to do in another article. Suffice it to observe here that linking this issue with the year 24 with Eucratides is begging the question.

1 Bernard & c., *BEFEO*, Tome LXVIII, 1980, pp. 24-27.

2 Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-73, esp. p. 53 and 73.

No. 19—TWO TAMIL CAVE BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore.

The two Tamil Cave Brāhmī inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were copied by me and included in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1990-91. Out of these two, one was copied from the caves of Tirumalai hills near Kīḻappūṅguḍi in Sivaganga Taluk of former Ramnad District. The village Kīḻappūṅguḍi is situated at a distance of 25 kms. from Mēlūr in Madurai District. The second one is from the cave locally called Uṇḍāṉkal near the village Vikkiramaṅgalam in Madurai District.

The records under study are classified herender as *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Record *A* was noticed earlier by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, Madras, and a paper on the same was presented by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras at a seminar conducted by the Tamil University, Thanjavur in 1990. The different readings suggested by the members of the above department have not been published so far.

The text reads as follows :

Ekkāṭu-ūr Kāvitikaṉ koṟiya paḷi-y

Engraved on the eyebrow of the cave, this archaic record is not easily visible to the naked eye.

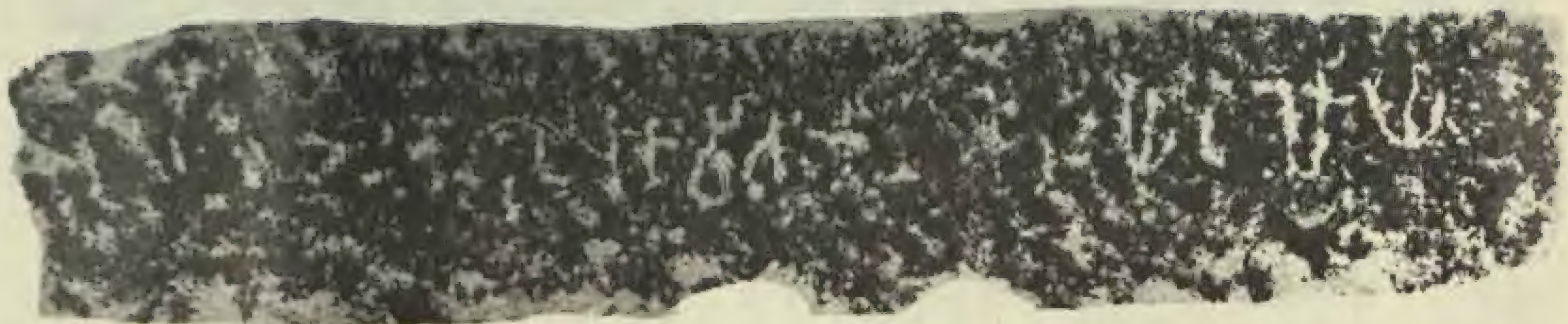
The **language** of the record is Tamil and the **script** employed is called Damili or Tamil-Brāhmī. Though the name Damili is eminently applicable to the alphabet of the archaic cave records of Tamil Nadu, on the score that their script got so evolved to suit Dravidian phonology, yet the name Tamil-Brahmi has persisted with the academicians. In fact, the nomenclature Tamil-Brāhmī has gained near-universal currency on account of our reluctance to accept a more suitable terminology.

It is written in a single line and the engraving is shallow. The record may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to c. 2nd Century B.C.

The inscription registers the fact that the cave (*paḷi*) was caused to be scooped out by one Kāvitikaṉ of (the place) Ekkāṭu-ūr.

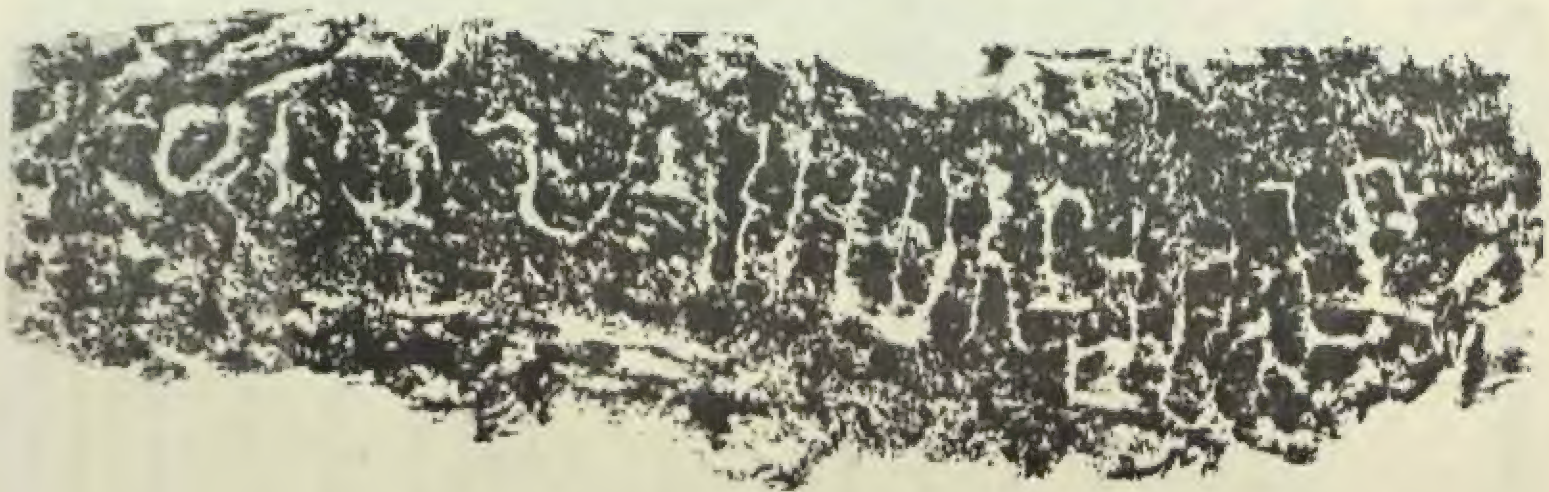
The interesting featre of the record is the absence of the inherent *a* vowel value in the consonants, the use of two consonants side by side as full letters instead of a conjunct form (*saṁyuktākshara*) as seen in the expression *Ekkaṭu*°. Like the records from Māṅguḷam and other places, this record exhibits the indigenous forms, especially the use of letters for the Dravidian sounds *ṟ* and *ṉ*. The medial vowel signs for *a* and *ā* are identical and the same ca

TWO TAMIL CAVE BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS TIRUMALAI



K. V. Ramesh

TWO TAMIL CAVE BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS VIKKIRAMAṄGALAM



K. V. Ramesh

be distinguished only by invoking a knowledge of the language. The symbol *u* (medial) in the word *Ekkāṭu-ūr* stands for the long sound *ū* only. The above features can be called pre-evolutionary ones. The letter forms *ṉ*, *ṟ* figuring in this record show some similarities to the ones found in the Māṅguḷam records.[1]

This is one of the early Tamil cave Brahmi records showing the basic forms of the alphabet. To these basic forms have been added special Dravidian sounds like *ṟ* and *ṉ* to suit the Dravidian phonology. The earliest Tamil cave Brāhmī records have been elsewhere assigned to the pre-Aśokan period on account of the occurrence of the rudimentary type of scriptal forms.[2]

The place Ekkāṭu-ūr may be identified with Erukāṭūr figuring in the cave Brāhmī record from Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam[3] and Ekkāṭṭūru referred to in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription[4] from Piḷḷaiyarpaṭṭi in Ramnad District.

The term *Kāviti* seems to indicate 'a title'. In the record of the Pāṇḍyas of the 8th-10th century A.D., the expression *kāvidi* occurs and has been taken to signify a revenue officer and petty official.[5] Kāvitikaṉ occurring in the present record is suggestive of a personal name rather than a title. The word *koṟiy*°- may be taken to mean 'to scoop out.'

Record *B*, engraved on the inner face of a rocky out-crop at Vikkiramaṅgalam, was first noticed by Sri N. Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology, Madras. It was subsequently copied by this office in 1990. This place has so far yielded five inscriptions, of which four are found engraved on the beds of the cave and one is found engraved on the eye-brow of the cave.[6]

The **language** of the record is Tamil and the **script** employed is Dāmili or Tamil-Brāhmī. On palaeographical grounds, this record may be placed later to the record *A* discussed above. The present inscription may be assigned to 1st Century B.C., on the basis of palaeography. The text reads :

Erayal Ara-iytaṉ chevitaōṉ

The **purport** of the record is that (this bed/cave) was caused to be made by Ara-iytaṉ of Erayal.

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1 See the 'Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions' by Iravatam Mahadevan in the *Seminar on Inscriptions* (ed.) by R. Nagaswamy, pp. 69 ff., Nos. 3 and 5.

2 Paper on the 'Origin and dissemination of the Brāhmī script' by K. V. Ramesh presented at the Tamil University Symposium 1988.

3 I. Mahadevan, *Ibid.*, p. 65, No. 51.

4 Contra : *Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 75.

5 *SII*, Vol. XIV, p. 12; In the Tamil poem *Maduraik-Kāñchi*, the term *kāvidi* is used in the sense of a title given to experienced and capable ministers. The Tamil *Nighaṇṭu* explains this term as 'an accountant'. It is used in the sense of a title given to a warrior in the Melpatti inscription of Pallava Kampavarman (See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 144).

6 *AREp*, 1926, Nos. 621-23 and *ibid.*, 1964, Nos. 285-86.

The following **palaeographical** features deserve notice. Vowel *e* bears resemblance to the ones found in the records at Karuṅgalakkuḍi and Aḷagarmalai.[1] Two forms of *t* are found used, one with the arm branching off to the right of a diagonal (slanting) stem and the other with two arms forking from the bottom of a vertical stem. The final *ṉ* used in *Ara-iytaṉ* and *chevitaṉ*, has been evolved to meet the needs of Dravidian phonology.

The name Ara-iytaṉ reminds us of a similar name found mentioned in the Tiruvādavūr inscription. Sri Mahadevan read the name in the latter record as *Ar-itan*.[2] The word *Arita*[3] or *Ar-ita* or *Ara-iyta* is, in all probability, the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word *Harita*, which term occurs as the name of *gōtra*. The place Erayal is not identifiable with any of the modern place-names in the present state of our knowledge.

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1 See *Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 28 and 43 (Alagarmalai record, No. 14), pp. 63-64.

2 and 3 *Ibid*., pp. 61, 63 and 65.

No. 20—TĀṆḌIVĀḌA GRANT OF VIJAYĀDITYA (II)

(1 Plate)

M. D. Sampath, Mysore

The copper-plate charter edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysor is noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1917.[1] This set of plates is stated to have been received from Sri Ramakrishnakavi, Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The details regarding the findspot and the place where the plates have been preserved are not known.

The set consists of three plates with raised rims each measuring 22 cms. in length and 8 cms. in breadth. The plates are strung on a ring which has a diameter of about 8 cms. and the seal is little over 5 cms. The ends of the ring had been fixed into the bottom of the circular seal. But they are loose and seperable. Each of the plates has a ring-hole with a diameter of 1.5 cm. in the centre of the left margin for the ring to pass through. The seal is stated to bear, on the countersnk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṁkuśa*, engraved in old Telugu characters followed by a floral design or *aṅkuśa* with the crescent and star above it and an expanded lotus petal decoration below. The ring and seal are, however, not at present available.

The set together with ring and seal is stated to weigh 812 gms.

The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner surface while the middle one bears writing on both sides. There are in all thirty two lines of writing equally distributed among the four written sides.

The **characters** belong to the Southern class of alphabets usually met with in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. The writing is well preserved and, on palaeographical grounds, assignable to the first half of the 9th century A.D. The characters can be compared with those of the Varppoṁgu grant of the same ruler.[2]

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit prose throughout with the exception of four verses towards the end.

As regards **orthography**, it may be pointed out that mistakes are few and far between. The practice of doubling the consonant following the *rēpha* is uniformly observed throughout excepting once in the word *Arjuna* (line 12).

The charter opens with the auspicious word *Svasti* which is followed by the stereotyped *praśasti* occurring in the numerous Eastern Chāḷukyan charters. The genealogical account

1 *AREp.*, 1916-17, No. A 5.

2 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, pp. 5 ff. and plate.

confines itself to the mention of the grandfather and father of the ruling king and makes no reference to the earlier Chaḷukya rulers. This omission can also be seen in the Varppoṁgu grant published elsewhere.[1] The record under discssion belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya (II), the donor of the grant, who is introduced as the son of Sarvvalōkāśraya Vhshṇuvarddhana and the grandson of Vijayāditya. A portion of the conventional praise about the donor king of our record nearly follows the description of this king given in the Varppoṁgu grant.

Vijayāditya I, who is stated to be the grandfather of the donor of our grant, is described as one who had established his rule by defeating through the prowess of his sword all enemy kings, as one who had gifted away gold weighed against his own weight time and again, as one who had blemishless fame as his standard and as the refuge of the entire world. Next is introduced his son Sarvvalōkāśraya Vishnuvarddhana (IV), who is described as an expert in the battle-fields, as one whose feet was worshipped by all kings and as one who is hailed as Manmatha.

His son Vijayāditya (II), the issuer of this charter, is described in glowing but conventional terms. He is compared with the milky ocean and with Yudhishṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma, Sahadēva and Guha for his many virtues and is described as a king endowed with the three imperial attributes (*śakti-traya*). He is also given the epithets *paramabrahmaṇya* and *paramamāhēśvara*. Whereas his grandfather and father are given the title *mahārāja*, he is endowed with the full array of the imperial titles viz., *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *bhaṭṭāraka*.

Then the inscription proceeds to record the royal order addressed to all officials and householders residing in Kōnurunāṇḍu-vishaya. The details of the grant recorded in the sequel are as follows : The village Tāṇḍivāḍa was granted, free from all taxes, to the two *brāhmaṇas* Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarma and Dōṇaśarmma, who were the sons of Dōṇaśarmma and Gōḷaśarmma and grandsons of Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarmma who belonged to the Āpastamba-sūtra and Gautama-gōtra and who was a resident of Vaṁgipaṟu.[2] The donees are described as engaged in the fulfilment of prescribed brahmanical activities such as learning and teaching, performing sacrifices and causing them to be performed and giving grants, etc. Their bodies always smelt of the smoke and incense of the sacrifices performed by them. The parents of the donees are described in their turn as proficient in *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṁgas*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Nīti-śāstra*. The grant is stated to have been made on the auspicious occasion of a solar-eclipse (*Sūrya-grahaṇa*). No other details of date are given in the record.

The issuer of this charter Vijayāditya (II) is assumed by scholars to have ruled from 808 to 847 A.D. Neither our record nor his two other published records *viz*., the British Museum

1 *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, p. 6, text lines 1-5.

2 This place is referred to as the residenc of one of the donees figuring in the British Museum plates of the same king (See, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 416).

Plates and the Varppormgu grant furnish any dates for his reign. In the genealogical portion of most of the records of his successors, he is assigned a reign period of forty years[1] but a few of them state the period to be 41, 44 and even 48 years.[2] These differences in the reign period may have been due to the possibility of his joint rule for some years, first as crown prince under his predecessor and next as the senior ruler after his successor's accession.

After registering the details of the grant proper, the text goes on to enumerate (lines 23-25) the boundaries of the gift village: to the east the river called Kalleru, to the south the village called Prusaṃbu, to the west a river (name lost) and to the north the village called Majjūḷūr. The gift village Tāṇḍivāḍa and the villages and rivers bordering it are, however, not identifiable on a modern map.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant Niravadyeśavatsala, who is described in verse 4 as an expert in the science of polity and as an accomplished in intellect. This official, obviously, bears a name coined after the epithet of his overlord Vijayāditya, who is described in our record (line 11) as *Niravady-ōdāra-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkritaḥ*). This epithet *Niravadya* was originally a favourite of the Vātāpi Chalukya emperor Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.)[3] and was obviously later adopted by his Eastern Chāḷukya namesake as evidenced by our record.

We know that the Chiṁbulūru grant[4] of Eastern Chāḷukya Vijayāditya II was composed by one Bhaṭṭa Niravadya, a few years after the issual of the grant under study. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is not possible to identify with certainty Niravadyeśavatsala of our record with Bhaṭṭa Niravadya of the Chiṁbulūru record.

The present charter was written (engraved) by Aksharalalitāchārya who is also known from the British Museum Plates of the same king in the same capacity. We learn from the latter record that he was resident of Vijayavāḍa. Besides these two charters, he also engraved the Chiṁbulūru grant of Vijayāditya III referred to above, wherein his name occurs as Aksharalalita and he is described as a resident of Vijayavāḍa. This Vijayavāḍa is the same as the well known town of that name in the Krishna District.

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1 Above, Vol. v, p. 128, *Ep. Andh.*, Vol. III, p. 40.

2 *A.R.Ep.*, 1908-09, No. A 3; *SII.*, Vol. I, pp. 44, 54; Above Vol. V, p. 136.

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, part II, para. 23.

4 *Ep. Andh.*, vol. III, p. 15 and plate.

TEXT [1]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sa-gōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti-pu-

2 trāṇāṁ Kauśiki-varaprasāda-labdha-rājyānāṁ mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālitānāṁ Svāmi-Ma-

3 hāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsa(sā)dita-vara-varāha-lāñchhan-ē-

4 kshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkrit-ārāti-maṇḍalānāṁ Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛi-

5 ta-vapushāṁ Chaḷukyānāṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇōḥ sv-āsi-dhārā prabhāv-āvarjit-āśē-

6 sha-rājanya-mastak-ākrānta-tīvr-aika-śāsansay=anēka-tulā-dhṛita-śrā(śā)takumbha-viśrāṇan-āva-

7 dāta-śarīra-sampadō niravadya-ōdāra kīrtti-dhvajasya samasta-bhuvanāśraya-śrī Vijayā-

8 ditya-mahārājasya pautraḥ tat-sūnur[2]-ati-tumula-ghōra-mah-āhava-raṁga-paṭutara-nai-

Second Plate : First Side

9 puṇyaḥ sakala-mahīpāla-vandita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalō makara-dhvaj-ābhidhānaka[ḥ] Sarvvalō-

10 kāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ samsta-sāmanta-mauli-māl-ālaṁkṛita-cha-

11 raṇa-yugaḷō nirvady-ōdāra-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛita-śarīraḥ kshīr-ārṇṇava yi(i)va Lakshmī-prasūtir-=dharmma-

12 ja yi(i)va satya-sandhaḥ Arjuna yi(i)va nirmmal-ōpētaḥ Bhīmasēna yi(i)va Bhīmabalāḍya(ḍhya)ḥ Sa-

13 hadēva yi(i)va Sahadēvamūrttiḥ Guha yi(i)v=āpratihata-śaktiḥ śaktitraya-sampannaḥ pa-

14 rama-brahmaṇyaḥ parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu[3]dhyātaḥ samasta-bhuvanāśraya-śrī-Vi-

15 jayāditya-mahārājadhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakaḥ Kōnūrunāṇḍu-vishaya-nivāsinō rā-

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1 From ink impressions.

2 The words *tat-sūnur-* are redundant.

3 A letter *j* seems to have been written below °*nu*-

i

ii a

K. V. Ramesh

ii b

iii

16 shṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbinas=sarvvān-ittham=ājñāpayati viditm=astu vō='smābhiḥ Vaṁgi[pa]-

Second Plate : Second Side

17 ṛu-va(vā)stavyasya Gautama-gōtrasy=Āpastambha(ba)-sūtrasy=ātiśaya-dharmmānushṭhāna-para-

18 sya shaṭ-karmma-niratasya Vṛiddha-Maṇḍaśarmmaṇa[ḥ*] pautrābhyaṁ(bhyāṁ) tat-putrayōr-vVēda-Vēdāṁ[1]g-Ētihāsa-Pu-

19 rāṇa-nīti-śāstr-ārtha-nipuṇayōḥ Dōṇaśarmma-Gōḷaśarmmaṇōḥ putrābhyām adhyayan-ādhyā-

20 pana-yajana-yājana-dān-ādi kriy-ānushṭhāna-tatparābhyāṁ anavarata-makh-āgni-dhūma-

21 sa(saṁ)cha[ya]-gandh-ādhivāsita-śarīra-nirmmalābhyāṁ Vṛiddha-Maṇḍa-Doṇaśarmmabhyām-āyu-

22 r-ārōgy-ābhivṛiddhayē Sūryya-grahaṇa-nimitē(ttam) sarvva-kara-parihārēṇ-ōdaka-

23 pūrvvaṁ kṛitvā Tāṇḍiva(vā)ḍa-nāma-grāmō dattaḥ asy=āvadhayaḥ pūrvvata[ḥ*] Kaḷḷēṛu-

24 nāmanadī dakshiṇataḥ Prusaṁbu[2]-nāma-grāmaḥ paśchimataḥ [Pa]…

Third Plate

25 ni-nāmanadī uta(tta)rataḥ Majjūḷūrunāma-grāmaḥ ētēshāṁ madhyavattī [|*]

26 Asy=ōpari na-kēnachidbhā(d-bā)dhākaraṇīyā [|*] karōti yas=sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyu-

27 ktō bhavati [|*] bhagavatā Vyāsēn=āpy=uktaṁ [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] ya-

28 sya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)laṁ(lam) [|| 1*] Svadattāṁ paradattāṁ vā yō ha-

29 rēta vasundharāṁ [|*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhā(shṭā)yāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ [|| 2*] Sarvvān=ē-

30 va bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmadēvaḥ [|*] Sāmānyo='yan-dharmma-sētu-

31 r=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|| 3*] Ājñaptir=asya dharmmasya nīti-śāstra-viśārada[ḥ*] | buddhi-sa-

32 mp[ū]rṇṇa-saṁyuktō Nirvadyēśa-vatsalaḥ [|| 4*] Aksharalalit-āchāryēṇ-ālikhitaṁ [||*]

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1 The *anusvāra* is written over the next letter *gē*.

2 The *anusvāra* is placed over the letter *°bu-*.

No. 21—HĀTHUṆḌĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJAKULA SĀMAṀTASIṀHADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1345

(*1 Plate*)

Ram Sharma, Mysore

The inscription[1] edited below was first noticed in *P.R.A.S.W.C.*[2] by D.R. Bhandarkar who later on included it in his list.[3] The inscription was transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar[4] as well as by Muni Jinavijaya.[5] It is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The record is enraved on a pillar in the porch of the Jaina temple at village Hāthuṇḍī in the Jodhpur District of Rajasthan. The inscription occupies a space measuring 14 cm × 49 cm. It contains 21 lines of writing and each line consists of about 9 letters. The size of the letters varies from about 1 cm to 3 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī and regular for the period to which the inscription belongs. Medial *ē* is expressed in two ways, either by a *śirōmātrā* as in *rājyē* (line 7) or by a *prishṭhamātrā*, as in *karaṇē* (line 8). Of special interest are the forms of *ch*, *dh* and *bh*, cf. the late and early forms of *ch* in *Chatuviṁsi* and *cha* (line 15), *dha* in *sādhu* (line 11-12) and *Vasudhā* (line 17) and *bha* in *Bhādrava* (line 3) and *subhaṁ bhavatū* (line 16) where it looks like dental *sa*. The letter *k* written as conjunct in *Śukra* (lines 3-4) and with medial *u* sign in *kula* (line 6) has lost the loop. Amongst other conjuncts the forms of *sya* in *tasya* (line 19) and *tta* in *pradattāḥ* (line 16) looking like *śa* are interesting. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, which is not free from mistakes. The influence of local dialect is discernible at some places like *Bhādrava* (line 3) for *Bhādrapada*. The use of the letters *j* for *y* in *jasya* (line 18) and *jadā* (line 19) and *p* for *bh* in *pūmi* (line 19) are interesting **orthographical** features.

The date of the inscription is Vikrama 1345, first *Bhādrapada ba*. 9, Friday which corresponds to 1288 A.D., July 23 according to the northern Vikrama era, i.e. *Chaitrādi Pūrṇimānta*.

The inscription commences with a symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by a passage paying obeisance to Vītarāga (i.e., Jina). This is followed by the details of date discussed above. It is then stated that śrī-Sāmyasiṁgha (Sāmaṁtasiṁha)dēva styled as *Mahārājakula* was ruling over Naḍūla-maṇḍala on that date. The *pañchakula* consisting of *Mahaṁ* Lalatā and others appointed by the king under the *Śrīkaraṇa* i.e., Chief Secretariat[6] or Advisory Committee are mentioned next as registering the gift. The **object** of the inscription is to

1 This is *A.R.Ep.*, 1961-62, No. C 1727.

2 *P.R.A.S.W.C.*, 1907-08, p. 52.

3 Bhandarkar's List, No. 621.

4 *Jaina Inscriptions*, pt.I, p. 233, No. 897.

5 cf. *Prāchīna Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha*, pt. II, No. 320.

6 cf. A.K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 212; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 318.

record the annual grant of twenty four *drammas* denominated as *Vaśika-drammas* for the service of Mahāvīra, obviously the Jaina *Tīrthaṁkara* in the village Hāthi-uḍī by *sādhu* (i.e., a Jaina devotee) Hēmāka in the Maṇḍapikā (i.e., a little pavilion)[1] erected below the Śamī tree. Since the Śamī tree is supposed to contain sacred fire the obvious indication is that the grant was made with the sacred fire of the tree as witness. The usual sense of *maṇḍapikā* as a customs house[1] does not appear to be applicable in the present case. The grant portion is followed by the auspicious expression *śubhaṁ bhavatu* and the customary benedictory verse *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc. The inscription ends with the statement that it was written by [Ṭhā.]Kapūra-Vijaya.

Several types of *drammas* have been mentioned in numerous other inscriptions,[2] but not *Vaśika-dramma*. We have no means of knowing its exact value. A.K. Majumdar[3] surmises that this *dramma* was a silver coin. P.C. Nahar appears to suggest it to be a record of land grant,[4] which does not appear to be correct.

The king *Mahārājakula* Sāmaṁtasiṁhadēva has been identified with the ruler of this name who flourished in the Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Jālōr[5] (Marwar). In the present inscription he has been described as ruling over Nāḍūla-maṇḍala, which makes it clear that Nāḍōl which has passed into the hands of Sōngirā Chāhamānas during the time of Udayasimha[6] was still under their sway. Further it is known that Sāmaṁtasiṁha was the son and successor of Chāchigadēva on the Jālōr throne. C.L. Suri,[7] however, considers Sāḍhadēva as the son and immediate successor of Chāchigadēva and presumes a struggle between Sāḍhadēva and Sāmantasiṁha for the Jālōr throne resulting in the success of the latter. Suri's contention lies mainly on the find of an inscription of Chāchigadēva at Sanpur which is near Nūn where we have got the inscription of *Mahārājakula Rāūta* Sāḍhadēva who under the circumstances has been taken as belonging to the Jālōr or Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamānas. Now, it is, however, not known as to why the Sirōhī branch of the Sōngirā Chāhamānas has been overlooked by Suri. In that branch Pratāpasiṁha[8] appears to have flourished as a contemporary and cousin of Chāchigadēva and it is quite likely that Sāḍhadēva was Pratāpasiṁha's son and successor and not of Chāchigadēva.

Two **geographical** names occur in this inscription. Nāḍūla-maṇḍala referred to in lines 4-5 is the region around modern Nāḍōl. The village Hāthi-uḍī (lines 12-13) obviously refers to modern Hāthuṇḍī, the findspot of the inscription.

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1 cf. A.K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 and 246.

2 cf. *Ibid.*, p. 100. Also see D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-04.

3 cf. *op.cit.*, p. 272.

4 cf. P.C. Nahar, *op. cit.*, where he reads *prachchhati bhūmi*.

5 cf. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

6 cf. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

7 Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 306.

8 cf. L.B. Desai, *Chauhāna Kula Kalpadruma*, p. 165.

TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] || ōm namō Vītarāgā-
2 ya || Saṁvat 1345 varshē ||[3]
3 prathama-Bhādrava[4] vadi 9 Śu-||[3]
4 kra-dinē=dy=ēha śrī-Nā-||[3]
5 ḍūla-maṁḍalē Mahārāja ||[3]
6 kula-śrī-Sāmyaṁgha[5]-||[3]
7 dēva-rājyēt=tanyukta[6] śrī-||[3]
8 Śrīkaraṇē Mahaṁ Lalatā[7]-
9 di Paṁchaku[la*] pra[ya*]chchhati[8] aksha-
10 rāṇi yathā Śami-tala-[9]
11 padē=dya[10] Maṁḍapikāyāṁ sā-
12 dhu Hēmākēna Hāthi-u-
13 ḍi-grāmē śrī-Mahāvīradē-
14 va-nē(sē)vārthaṁ varshaṁ prati Vaśī-
15 ḳadra 24 chatuviṁsi[11] cha[12] dramā[13]
16 pradattāḥ[14] [||*] su(śu)bham bhavatū(tu)||
17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rā-

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1 From ink-impressions.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This punctuation mark is redundant.

4 Read *Bhādrapada*.

5 *JV* (*Jinavijaya*) reads as Sāmvaṁtasiṁya(ha).

6 *JV* reads as *stra-niyukta*. Read *Tan=niyukta*.

7 *JV* and *PC* (Puran Chand Nahar) read as *Lalanā*.

8 *PC* reads as *prachchhati bhūmi*.

9 The letter *la* looks like *bha*.

10 JV and PC respectively read as *padētya* and *paditya* which make no sense.

11 Read *chaturviṁśati*.

12 This form of *cha* is different from that of *cha* in *chatu* in the same line.

13 Read *drammāḥ*.

14 The *visarga* was added after the text was engraved as a result one dot was engraved above the line.

HĀTHUṆḌĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SĀMAṀTASIṀHADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1345

K. V. Ramesh Scale : One-Third

18 jā(ja)bhi[ḥ*] Sagarādivi(bhiḥ) |ja(ya) ||[1]-

19 sya[2]ja(ya)dā pū(bhū)mī(miḥ) tasya[2]

20 tadā phalaṁ(lam)||

21 [Ṭhā.] Kapūra[3] Vijaya lishatuṁ[4][||*]

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1 This punctuation mark is redundant.

2 The numerical figure 2 here indicates that the previous word is to be repeated.

3 *JV* reads the name as Kē(*Kṛi?*)*shṇa*.

4 Read *Karpūra-Vijayēna likhitam*.

No. 22—OBSERVATIONS ON A SEAL-DIE BEARING INCOMPLETE LEGEND

(*1 Plate*)

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Lucknow

The seal-die under discussion is in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi. The accompanying photographs were kindly supplied by late Sri C. Sivaramamurti, the then Director of the Museum.

The seal shows, in the upper field, the device of Gajalakshmi Lakshmi, being anointed by two elephants one on either side. Below the device is a two-line legend with sunken letters in reverse, in the **characters** of *circa* fourth or fifth century A.D. The **legend** is incomplete, a few letters, both in the beginning and in the end of both the lines, being out of flan. The extant legend reads :

1. ... śvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka
2. ... grihita kumaramā ...

Fortunately, the legend can be restored with the help of certain sealings bearing identical device and legend unearthed at Bhita, Allahabad District, in the course of excavations conducted by Sir John Marshall and published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1911-12.[1] There are ten such sealings reported from that site, of which only one, the most well preserved, has been illustrated.[2] This sealing has the complete legend :

1. Mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Vishṇura-
2. kshita-pād-ānugrihita kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya

'[Seal] of the office (*adhikarana*) of *kumarāmātya* attached to the *mahāśvapati* (the great lord of cavalry) and *mahādandanāyaka* (great general)." One such sealing, though not so well preserved, was noticed by us in the collection of late Sri Ramachandra Tandon of Allahabad.

The evidence gleaned from other epigraphs shows that a *kumārāmātya* could be attached to the king[3] and could also be appointed as heads variously of a province,[4] district[5] or a city.[6] But, the evidence of the Bhita sealings shows that this official could at times be attached to some senior officer,[7] in this case one who was designated as

1 *ASIAR*, 1911-12, pp. 52-53.
2 *Ibid.*, under No. 32 and illustrated on plate XVIII, No. 32.
3 See the evidence of Basarh sealings, *Ibid.*, 1903-04, p. 108, No. 8.
4 See *MASI*, 66, p. 51.
5 *Vide*, Dāmōdarpūr copper-plates, Above Vol. XV, 130 ff; Baigram copper-plate, Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 81-82.
6 *Vide*, seal-legend *Tira kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya*, on a Basarh sealing, *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 109, No. 22.
7 Of course there is evidence to show that *kumārāmātya* was at times attached to *yuvarāja*, vide the evidence of a Basarh sealing bearing the legend *yuvarāja-pādiya kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya*, *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 107.

OBSERVATIONS ON A SEAL-DIE BEARING INCOMPLETE LEGEND

—SEAL - DIE



K. V. Ramesh From Photograph *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLII

PLASTOCENE IMPRESSION OF THE SEAL - DIE



mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka can and has been translated variously as 'general',[1] or 'police officer'[2] or 'judge.'[3] But there is a possibility that the title often characterised a feudal lord.[4]

Sealings bearing incomplete legend and device are not uncommon. The most common reason for this feature is that the die used for stamping was larger than the clay lump on which the stamp was impressed and thus a part of the legend or/and device remained out of flan. In a few cases it might be due to the improper handling of the die in which case part of the lump of the moist clay might remain unstamped while part of the device and/or legend would be out of flan.

But the die itself bearing an incomplete legend, as is the case with the one under discussion, is curious. The following explanation may be offered for this feature.

It seems that the seal-die of the office of *kumāramātya* got broken. There was a pressing need for sealing the documents and hence a new seal-die had to be prepared within a short period. Manufacture of a seal-die entails inscribing the device and letters of the legend in reverse form, demanding both technical skill and time. Hence, as a short-cut stop-gap arrangement, a seal-impression, made from earlier die, was pressed against a wet lump of clay to produce sunken letters and device in reverse form to serve as a seal-die. Incidentally, the seal-impression which was used for making the seal-die was as such did not bear the complete legend, part of it being out of flan. Naturally, therefore, the seal-die under discussion is characterised by the peculiar feature of not showing the complete legend.

The seal-die under discussion is sun-baked and not kiln-baked, and this feature also lends support to the view that it was made in a hurry to meet some urgent need. Impressions from it would have been made by gently pressing it against the moist clay lump, and not by striking, as, in the later case, unbaked as the die was, it would have got broken.

While the seal-impressions of ancient period have been found in large numbers, seal-dies for the same (with the exception of those of the Indus Civilization) are few and far-between, and hence, the find of a seal-die of the historical period becomes more significant than that of a sealing of the same period. Further, the findspot of a seal-die is a far more reliable guide to determine the place of its origin than that of a sealing. While the sealings, applied as they are to letters and parcels despatched to different places, are generally found at places far off from the place of their origin, seal-dies, meant as they are for sealing the documents by the owner of the seal, would

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1 Raychaudhuri, *PHAI.*, (6th ed.), p. 563, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 16, f.n.; A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 343; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 364.

2 Stein, *Rāja Taranginī I*, Taranga VII, V. 951; Marshall, *ARASI.*, 1911-12, p. 54, Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 82.

3 Boch, *ARASI.*, 1903-04, p. 109; Mookerji, *Ancient India*, p. 331; Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 77.

4 D.R. Bhandarkar, after citing epigraphic references concludes '... like 'Duke', 'Earl' and 'Viscount' *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was a hereditary title of 'nobility' (*CII.*, Vol. III, p. 95)

generally be found at the place from where letters and parcels bearing their stamp were issued.

Since the seal-die discussed here has been found at Kauśāmbī, it is reasonable to presume that the office of the *kumārāmātya* attached to the *Mahāśvapati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Vishnurakshita was located in that city. Further, we may, with good deal of justification, infer that the sealings unearthed at Bhita, referred to above, must have been applied to the letters and/or parcels despatched from Kauśāmbī. In all probability Kauśāmbī was a provincial headquarters of the Imperial Guptas, and Vishnurakshita, who has been designated as a *mahāśvapati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, was the governor of Vatsa region, with a *kumārāmātya* attached to him. Bhita, the findspot of the sealings, was a thriving town within this province, probably a *tehsil* headquarters, in the Gupta period. The Bhita sealings, referred to above, would have been those affixed to the official correspondence of the *kumārāmātya* stationed at Kauśāmbī to a government official serving at Bhita.

No. 23—TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT

(4 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy and S. Nagarjuna, Mysore

The two copper-plate charters, edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, were sent by the then Collector of Nellore in 1918-19 to the then Government Epigraphist for India. However, the actual findspot of these grants is not known. They are referred to here as *A*[1] and *B*[2] for the sake of convenience.

A. Copper-plate charter dated Saka 1225.

This is a set of 3 copper-plates oblong in shape with low rims preserved in only two of the plates and strung together on a copper ring which bears a tiny image of the seated bull fixed on to it like a seal. The plates are written on both sides and they are numbered. They measure about 18 cms in length and 9 cms in breadth. The ring measures about 7 cms in diameter. The bull on it is about 1.3 cms in length and height in the seated posture. The total set weighs about 1217 gms. The writing is well preserved.

The copper-plate grant is engraved in Telugu characters and language of the 14th century to which the charter belongs. The **palaeography** does not call for any special remarks except that in one instance the *dirgha* sign for medial ā is indicated by a vertical stroke on the top of the concerned letter as in *guṛālu* (line 28). The size of the letters is not uniform. The letters in the first line of the first side of the first plate are smaller when compared to the remaining lines on that side of the plate. Again, the letters on the 2nd side of the first plate, both sides of the second plate and the first side of the third plate are fairly big in size while the letters on the second side of the last plate are comparatively smaller.

As regards **orthography** the following features deserve mention. The record consists of many spelling mistakes. In some instances *anusvāra* is used where it is not necessary. (eg. *labdhāṁnēka* for *labdhānēka*, line 1), which is, however, a common feature of the period. Similarly in many instances *dirgha* was used where *hrasva* should be and *vice versa* (eg. *vīra-bal-ōtsahā* for *vīra-bal-ōtsāha*, line 3; *kirty-aṁganaliṁgita* for *kirty-aṁgan-āliṁgita*, line 5). In some instances *ri* is used for *ṛi* (eg. *alaṁkrita* for *alaṁkṛita*, line 2; *vrishabha* for *vṛishabha* line 14); *s* for *ś* (*saucha* for *śaucha*, line 2; *visuddha* for *viśuddha*, line 4; *Kārtika su* for *Kārtika śu*, line 25); *ś* for *sh* (*bhūśitaruṁ* for *bhūshitaruṁ*, lines 11-12; *dōsāna* for *dōshāna*, lines 40, 41); *ḷ* for *l* (*staḷa* for *sthala*, lines 16-17; *kapāḷa* for *kapālā*, lines 41); in some cases aspirate is not used where it should be (*staḷa* for *sthala*) lines 6-7; *Ahiśchatra* for *Ahichchhatra*, line 9; *lāṁchenalyana* for *lāṁchchhanulaina*, line 15); in some instances aspirate is used where it should not be, as in *Śakha* for *Śaka* (line 24); in some cases the consonant following *rēpha*

1 *AREp.*, 1918-19, No. A 10.

2 *Ibid.*, No. A 11

is doubled (*dhamma*, line 3; *sarvva-mānyamu*, line 37); in one instance the *consonant* following *anusvāra* is doubled as in *paṁttamu* (line 22). Further, it may be noted that the titles of the members of the guild are in Kannaḍa language, the reason being that this guild had been formed in the beginning at Ayyāvoḷe which is identical with modern Aihoḷe in Bijapur District, Karnataka.

This grant is dated Śaka 1225, Krōdhi, Kārttika śu. 10, Thursday. If the Śaka year quoted is wrong for 1226, the details regularly correspond to 1304 A.D., October 8, f.d.t. 30.

The **object** of the charter is to record the grant of privileges for trading in certain articles without paying duty, to a certain Puliyama-seṭṭi, who, on the orders of the guild, killed Kārapākala Kāṭināyaka who had turned a traitor to the guild.

The record opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by some of the usual epithets of the guild.[1] Then the charter proceeds to state that the *samasta-pekkanḍru* [2] of the 18 *samayas* belonging to the four countries and of Nandyāla-sthaḷamu assembled in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Gavareśvaradeva, set up the *vajra-bhaishaniga* and granted certain privileges to Puliyama-seṭṭi for having killed Kārapākala Kāṭināyaka who had become a traitor to all the *samayas*. This is followed by the date, the details of which have been discussed above. Then follows a list of articles while trading in which Puliyama-seṭṭi was given exemption from paying duty while buying or selling them (*amminavānki konnavānki sarvamānyam*). It is further stated that whenever he visits any country the rulers as well as the members of the guild (*pekkaṁḍru*) of those countries should allow Puliyama-seṭṭi to enjoy this privilege. This is followed by an imprecatory passage in Telugu which says that those who do not honour this grant will incur the sin of killing a thousand tawny cows on the bank of the Gaṅgā. They would also incur the sin of preparing collyrium in the skull of their eldest son.

The importance of this charter, as also of charter *B*, discussed below, lies in the fact that they throw welcome light on the sweeping powers enjoyed by the merchant guilds.

The merchant guilds of the *Nānādeśis* and the *Vīrabaḷañjas* are early institutions spread all over South India and Maharashtra. The epithets endowed to them are high sounding and stand to test. A record from Baḷḷigāmi in Karnataka, dated Śaka 978 (1056 A.D.) gives a long eulogy of these guilds.[3] Another inscription from Kurugōḍu, in Karnataka itself, also gives a string of epithets of these guilds.[4] This is dated Śaka 1099 (1177 A.D.). They are described as stationed at Ayyāvoḷe and hailing from Ahichchhatra (*Śrīmad-Ayyāvoḷeya Ahichchhatra-vinirggataru*). The Kurugōḍu epigraph cited above refers to them as *śrīmad-Āryyā-nāma-pura-mukhya-bhūtar-enip-aynūrvvaru*.[5] The Āryāpura mentioned here is but the Sanskritized form of the place name Ayyāvoḷe. The present charter further describes them as *samaya-dharma-prati-pālakaru* which suggests that they were keen on maintaing the *dharma*

1 For the significance of some of these titles see below, pp. 22-23

2 The term *samasta-pekkanḍru* literally means 'all the several (members)' and in its technical sense refers to any technical guild of medieval Andhra Pradesh. In medieval Karnataka, the exact Kannaḍa translation of this term, carrying the same sense, occurs as *samasta-halaru* in a number of inscriptions.

3 *Ep.Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 118.

4 *SII.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297.

5 *Ibid.*, text, line 33

of their *samaya*. That they were offering very severe punishment, sometimes even capital punishment, to those who violated the *samaya-dharma* is proved by the charters under study. They were very valorous as evidenced by epithets like *anuna-sahasottunga, kirty-amgan-alimgita-nija-bhuja-vijaya-virochita-vira-lakshmi-nivasa-vaksha-sthala, tribhuvana-parakram-onnataru*. It is interesting to note that they were taking part in battles. A hero-stone inscription from Hirelingadahalli, Dharwar District, Karnataka, dated in the 10th regnal year of Yādava Rāmachandra (1280 A.D.), records that a servant of the Eighteen *Samayas* died fighting while capturing the fort of Tiḷuvaḷḷi in the presence of the great assembly (*Prithvi-nāḍu)* of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa-nāḍu.[1]

The titles *Chaḷukyanvayaru* and *Chōlakulantakaru* attest to their active participation in the political affairs of the country to the advantage of the Karnataka rulers. They were further described as *mahisha-gardabha-vrishabha-vahanaru* which suggests that they used to carry their merchandise on these animals. They were stated to be the worshippers of the lotus feet of the deity Gavarēśvaradēva as evidenced by many other inscriptions. In some places the members of these guilds constructed temples to this deity and made grants for their maintenance.[2] The fact that these guilds were very widely spread all over South India, Gujarat and Maharashtra is proved by the provenance of the inscriptions of these guilds. The Kurugōḍu inscription, mentioned above, refers to *Lāḍa(ṭa)-Chola-Malayāḷa-Telumga-Kannaḍa-samasta-nānadēśigaḷu*.[3] In Tamil epigraphs these guilds are referred to as *Valañjiyar* and *Nānādēśit-tiśai-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvar*.[4] An inscription from Bhāḷavaṇi in Khanapur taluk, Sangli District, Maharashtra mentions the *Nānādeśis*.[5] It is further interesting to note that these guilds were spread over Burma and its neighbouring countries also.[6] The fact that these guilds were very active, widespread and were functioning till the 18th century is evidenced by a copper-plate grant from Kolār, Karnataka, dated Śaka 1620 (1698 A.D.), which furnishes a long list of 54 villages spread over Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu as falling under their jurisdiction.[7]

Evidently these merchant guilds enjoyed sweeping powers to the extent that they could award even capital punishment to the culprit without the fear of interference from the throne. To try the cases, as can be observed from the inscriptions, the members of the guild used to assemble in the *mukha-mandapa* of an important temple. It appears that before the trial commences they were setting up the *vajra-bhaishaniga*. There are different opinions regarding the meaning of *vajra-bhaishaniga*. Somesekharasarma took it to mean a large cupped spoon.[8] He draws this information from Edgar Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.[9] P.B. Desai, who also quotes the opinions of Rice, R. Rama Rao and B.A. Saletore in

1 *AREp.*, 1932-33, No. BK 107.
2 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 118; *SII.* Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297, etc.
3 *op. cit.*, text, line 47.
4 *AREp.*, 1955-56, No. B 264.
5 *Ibid.*, 1972-73, No. B 38.
6 Above, Vol. VII, pp. 197 ff.
7 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XVII, No. 257.
8 *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 401 and n 32; *Bharati*, Vol. 24, pt. 2, pp. 63 ff.
9 *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. II, pp. 121-23.

his paper "Vajra-baisanige: Derivation and Interpretation",[1] suggests that *vajra-baisanige* (Kannaḍa form of Telugu *vajra-bhaishaṇiga*) is a sitting posture (same as *vajr-āsana*) and that the members of the business community were sitting in this posture while transacting important business as the fundamental rite of *vajrāsana* at once invested their meetings with solemnity and religious sanction. Now, let us examine the information provided by Thurston. In his work it is stated that a large cupshaped spoon is the ensign of *Dēśāyi* (a sub-division of *balija*, same as *vīra-baḷañja* of the epigraphs in question). This is described as follows : "On the outer surface, all round its edge, are carved in relief eighteen figures, each one being typical of one of the castes of which the Dēsāyi is the social head. Under each figure is inscribed in Tamil the name of the caste which that figure typifies. The figures are smeared with red powder and sandal, and decorated with flowers. The menial, taking up the cup, rings the bell attached to it, to summon the parties. As soon as the sound is heard, the castemen, among whom any offence has occurred, assemble, each house in the village being represented by a member, so as to make up a *panchāyat* (council). The Dēsāyi's emblem is then placed in front of him in the midst of the *panchāyat*, and a regular enquiry held"[2]. Though Thurston gives a long description of this emblem, unfortunately he has not given other details such as the name of the emblem and the material out of which it is made, etc. Nevertheless we may safely presume that *vajra-bhaishaṇiga* mentioned in the epigraphs of the merchant guilds is the same as the emblem described above. In this connection we may note the expression *ghaṁṭa-vrēsi* ('having rung the bell') occurring in charter *B* in the context of setting up the *vajra-bhaishaṇiga* and ordering the execution of the culprit by the guild. In the light of the above discussion the suggestion of P.B. Desai that "*vajra-baisaṇige* of Kannaḍa records was nothing but *vajrāsana* which constituted a peculiar sitting posture..." is untenable.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in the grant Ayyāvoḷe is already discussed above. Nandyāla, the head-quarters of Nandyāla-sthaḷamu is identical with modern Nandyāla in Nandyal Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh.

TEXT[3]

First Plate : First Side

1 Siddham [||*][4] Svasti [||*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-paṁchaśata-vīra-śāsana-labdhaṁ(dh-ā)nēka-guṇa-gaṇā-

2 laṁkri(kṛi)ta satya-sau(śau)chā-chāru[5]-charitra-naya-vinaya-vipula-vijñāna-

3 vīra-baḷijiga vīra-bal-ōtsa(tsā)hā(ha) samaya-dharmma-pra

4 tipa(pā)laka visu(śu)ddha-garuḍa-dhvaja-rājamān-āgmū(nū)-

1 *Śrīkanṭhikā* (Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri Felicitation volume), pp. 89 ff.

2 *Ibid*., p. 122. A photograph of this emblem is also given facing p. 123.

3 From estampages.

4 Indicated by symbol.

5 Read *satya-śauch-āchāra*.

TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT

— PLATE I

i a

i b

K. V. Ramesh

Scale : Three-Fourths

ii a

ii b

5 na-sāhasōttuṁgga kīrty-aṁgana(n-ā)liṁggita-nija-bhu-

6 ja-vijaya-vṛikōchita[1] vīra-lakshmī-nivāsa-vaksha-sta(stha)-

7 ḷa stri(tri)bhuvana-parākram-ōṁnatarurh śrī-

First Plate : Second Side[2]

8 Baladēva-Vāsudēva-Khaṁḍḍali-Mūlabhadra-vaṁś-ōdbha-

9 varuṁ śrīmadye(d-A)yyāvoḷa(ḷe)ya-Ahiścha(chchha)tra-

10 vina(ni)rggataruṁ Chāḷukya(ky-ā)nvayaruṁ Chō-

11 ḷa-kul-āṁtakaruṁ chēḷa(ḷ-ā)bharaṇa-bhūśi(shi)-

12 taruṁ baluṁkke-daṁḍḍa-hā(ha)staruṁ tamoḷakke abha-

13 ya-hastaruṁ kava(na)ka-kaṁcha(chu)ḷukkeyaṁ Kāma-dēvaru[ṁ]

Second Plate : First Side

14 mahiśa(sha)-garddabha-vṛi(vṛi)shabha-vāhanaruṁ śrī-Nārā-

15 yaṇa-chakra-laṁchenalyana[3] śrīmatu Gavaṟēsva(śva)radēva-di-

16 vya-śrī-pāda-padma(m-ā)rādhakulaina śrīmatu Naṁdyāla-sta(stha)-

17 ḷamu chālū(lu)mūla-sahitamaina akhila-nā-

18 lgu dēśāla va(pa)dunenmidi-samayāla samastamaina pe-

19 kkaṁḍrunu śrī-Gaṇa(va)ṟēsva(śva)ra-dēvara guḍi mukhaṁ

20 maṁṭapamunaṁdu[4] vajra-bhaishaṇiga veṭṭi

Second Plate : Second Side[5]

21 sarvva-samayālaku drōhuḍaina Kārapākala Kāṭinā-

22 yanim boḍuvaṁ ba[ṁ*]ppinaṁ boḍchi paṁttamu dechchina Puli-

23 yamma-seṭṭiki ichchina śa(śā)sana-kramamu yeṭaṁnanu sva-

24 sti[||*] śrī-jayābhyudaya-Śakha(ka)varushaṁbu-

25 lu 1225 va(a)gunēṭi Krōdhi-saṁvatsara Kārtika su(śu)

26 10 gu nāḍu Puliyamak=ichchina mānyamu ē-

---

1 Read *vīr-ōchita*.

2 Numeral 1 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.

3 Read *lāṁchchhanulaina*.

4 Read *mukha-maṁṭapamunaṁdu*.

5 Numeral 2 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.

Third Plate : First Side

27 nūri mā[nya]mu chaitralu ēnūṟu ēnugulu ēnū-

28 ṟu guṟālu ēnūṟu bhaṁḍlu ēnūṟu varupu-

29 ḍlu ēnūṟu miryyamu bāruvulu ēnūṟuṁ

30 pōṁka peṟukalu ēnūṟu cheramalavalu ēnu(nū)-

31 ṟu suruvuḍumalavalu ēnūṟu pratti malavalu

32 ē[nū*]ṟu uppu e(pe)ṟukalu ēnūṟu pōtu peṟukalu ē-

33 nūṟu eddu peṟukalu ēnūṟu gāḍidi(da) hāsi-

Third Plate : Second Side[1]

34 belu ēnūṟu mūpu nāsibelu ēnūṟu enumulu

35 ēnūṟu āvulu ēnūṟu suṁkkya-dhānyālu ēḍu dhānyā-

36 lu nūvulu [v]erasina vitalamu ḍela nānā ppa(pra)kā[ra*]lā nānā-

37 bhaḍḍala vala[na*] amminavānki konnavānki sarvvama(mā)nyamu

38 yitaḍu ye dēśamu miṁda naḍachinanu ā dēśasagaṁla[2]

39 rājulunu ā dēśa(śā)naga[la*] pekka[ṁ*]ḍrunu mīku seli[ṁ*]chēdi cheli[ṁ*]pani vā-

40 ru Gaṁga karata vēyikavu(vi)lalaṁ boḍchina dōśa(shā)naṁ bōvuvāru ta-

41 ma peda-koḍku kapāḷa(lā)na kaṭuka vaṭṭina dōśa(shā)naṁ bōvuvāru[||*] Ma[ṁ*] gaḷa-ma-

42 hā-śrī-śrī-śrī[||*]

B. Copper-plate charter of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra, Śaka 1244

This is also a set of 3 oblong copper-plates with low rims engraved on all six sides. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 7.6 cms in diameter, the ends of which are fixed into the two arms of the small but thick bracket in the bottom of its fixed bull-seal. The bull is in seated posture and it is shown in full relief to the height of about 3.8 cms. The plates measure about 21.8 cms in length and about 12.2 cms in breadth. The total weight of the set is 2274 gms. The writing is well preserved.

This charter is engraved in Telugu characters and language of the 14th century to which the record belongs. The **palaeography** does not call for any special remarks except that in one instance the medial *ā* sign *(dīrgha)* is indicated by a vertical stroke on the top of the

1 Numeral 3 is engraved near the margin to the left of the ring hole indicating the number of the plate.

2 Read *dēśānaṁgaḷa*

TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT
— PLATE II

iii a

iii b

concerned letter as in *karaṇālu* (line 27). The letters are in uniform size and are well engraved.

As regards **orthography** the following features are noteworthy: In some instances, as is common during the period in question, *anusvāra* is used where it should not be (e.g., *labdhāṁnēka*, line 2; *virājitāṁnūna*, line 4; *parākramōṁnata*, line 5); *ri* or *ru* is used for *ṛi* (*vrishabha* and *prithvī* for *vṛishabha* and *pṛithvī*, respectively, lines 12 and 26; *-ālaṁkruta* for *-ālaṁkṛita*, line 2); doubling of consonant following *rēpha* can be observed in some instances (e.g., *suvarṇna* for *suvarṇa*, line 4; in this case it may be noted that dental *n* is used instead of cerebral *ṇ* while doubling); use of *perumāḍlu* for *perumāḷḷu* (line 31) and *tāṁbra* for *tāmra* (line 39) also deserve attention. Further, it may be noted that the titles of the members of the merchant guild are in Kannaḍa as in charter *A*. However, in one instance *viz.*, *bhūshaṇuluṁ* (for Kannaḍa *bhūshanaruṁ*) the local influence can be noticed. On the whole it may be stated that compared to charter *A* this grant contains less number of orthographical errors.

This is dated Śaka 1244, Duṁdubhi, Kārttika śu. 5, Thursday corresponding to 1322 A.D., October 15, Friday (and not Thursday).

The object of the charter is to grant certain privileges, as in charter *A*, to a certain Attena for executing, on the orders of the guild, Aṁnamarāju and Siṅgarāju, who had turned traitors to the guild.

The record opens with an auspicious symbol followed by the words *avighnam=astu* and *svasti* and proceeds to give a string of epithets of the merchant guild. Apart from the epithets given in Charter *A* some more are given here. This is followed by the statement that while *mahamaṇḍalēśvara* Kākatīya Pratāparudra was ruling from his capital (*modali paṭnamu*) Oruṁgallu, Aṁnamarāja and Siṁgarāju, the *suṁka-karaṇams* of Cheṟunūru in Peḍakaṁṭi-dēśamu, having turned traitors to the 18 *samayas*, the *samasta-pekkaṁḍru* of *Chālumūla-padunenimidi-samayālu* of Nandyāla-sthalamu, which is (an) important (division) in Peḍakaṁṭi-dēśamu, assembled in the *mukha-maṇḍapa*, of the temple of Chennakēśava-perumāḍlu, set up *vajra-baisiga* in that *maṇḍapa*, summoned to their presence the traitors Aṁnamarāju and Siṁgarāju by ringing the bell (*ā drōhulaina Aṁnamarājuku Siṁgarājuku dēśāla pekkaṁḍru ghaṁṭa vrēsi*). Then the *pekkaṁḍru* gave *siguru* (probably the weapon of execution) and *Saṁbaḍamu* (probably remuneration) to Attena, son of Lōki-seṭṭi in order that he may carry out the death sentence pronounced by the guild against the traitors. He duly executed their orders and in appreciation of his service the *pekkaṁḍru*, on the date quoted, granted certain privileges to him like exempting him from paying duty for trading in certain articles both while buying and selling. It is further stated that whenever he visited other countries, the ruler and the *pekkaṁḍru* of those countries should allow him to enjoy these exemptions. Then follow the imprecatory passages in Telugu and Sanskrit.

It is interesting to note that in this case the culprits were officials discharging the duty of revenue accounts (*suṁka-karaṇālu*). These officials were probably employed by the guild itself. From this we may conclude that the guild was empowered to collect taxes for that purpose and employ their own *suṁka-karaṇams* and that the guild was also empowered to punish to any extent any one who flouted their customs and conventions.

The list of duty-free goods given in this charter as well in Charter *A* gives us an idea about the merchandise in which these guilds were trading. The list includes elephants,

horses, carts, pepper, rice, arecanuts, cotton, salt, silk, sandal, musk, precius stones, etc.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this grant Ayyāvoḷe and Nandyāla-sthalamu have been discussed under Charter *A*. Pedakallu, the headquarters of the division Peḍakaṁṭi-deśamu, is identical with Peṇḍekallu in Dronachalam Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh while Pedakaṁṭi-deśamu is represented by the region around present Peṇḍekallu. The village Cheṛanuru, which is included in Peḍakaṁṭi-deśamu, cannot be identified.

TEXT[1]

First Plate : First Side

1 Siddham [||*] [2] Avighnam=astu || Svasti [||*] Samasta-bhuvana-jana-vinuta-vikhyāta-paṁchaśata-ko-

2 ṭi-vistirṇṇa(rṇa)-vira-śāsana-labdhaṁ(bdh-a)neka-bhuri-gun=alaṁkru(ṛi)ta satya-śaucha-charu[3]-cha-

3 ritra naya-vinaya-vipula-vijñana-vira-balaṁjiga[4]-samaya-dharmma-paripalakaru

4 ṁ suvarnna-garuḍa-dhvajaruṁ virājitaṁ(t-a)nuna sahas-ot[t*]uṁga-kirtyaṁ(rty-aṁ)-

5 gan-āliṁgita-nija-bhuja-viśala-vaksha[stha*]laruṁ tribhuvana-parākram-oṁnata

6 ruṁ śri-Baladeva-Khaṁḍaḷi-Mulabhadra-vaṁśodbhavaruṁ Ahi-

7 ścha(chchha)tra-viniṛggataruṁ cheḷabharaṇa-bhushitaruṁ śaraṇagata-vajra-paṁja-

8 rulum ekaika-viraruṁ lokaika-manyaruṁ kadana-prachaṁḍaruṁ ripu-

9 hri(hṛi)daya=śalyaruṁ maṛehokkaḍe kavaruṁ para-nari-sahodara-

10 ruṁ sad-gun-abharanaruṁ para-samaya-sarvva-dhana-churaka-

First Plate : Second Side[5]

11 raru kanaka-kaṁchulike-Kamadevaruṁ baluṁke-daṁḍa-hastaruṁ mahi-

12 sha-vri(vṛi)shabha-gardabha-vahanaruṁ dvija-guru-devata-puja(jā)-sa-

13 ṁpaṁ[6]naru dharmma-charitra-kirtti-bhushaṇuluṁ abhimā-

---

1 From estampages.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 Read *satya-śauch-āchāra*.

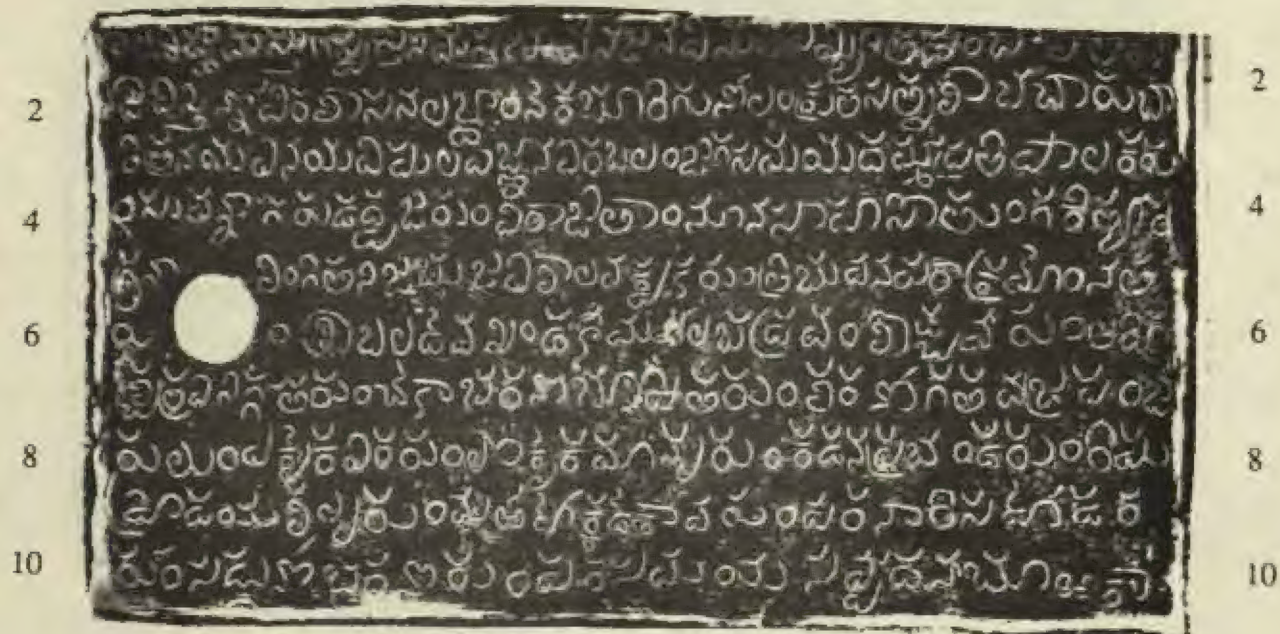
4 The letter *ga*, originally omitted, has been accommodated subsequently in the span between *ji* and *sa*.

5 Numeral 1 is engraved in the left margin of the plate in between lines 1 and 2 indicating the number of the plate.

6 The *anusvara* is engraved in small size between the letters *pa* and *na*.

TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS FROM NELLORE DISTRICT
— PLATE III

i a



i b



ii a

ii b

K. V. Ramesh

Scale : Three-Fourths

14 na-śōbhitaruṁ maḷala-saravi-hosavaruṁ huliya mīsailu[1]yyā-

15 lāḍuvaruṁ beṭṭavan-ēṟi yamri(mṛi)ta karavaruṁ kēsaṟa

16 kichchiḍuvaruṁ desege bobbiḍuvaruṁ tōṭiyaṁdaḍe kō-

17 ṭi lābhaveṁbaruṁ hōha māriyanu challavāḍuvaruṁ

18 bahamāriyan-eduru goṁbavaruṁ bārada mārige baḷiya-

19 naṭṭuvaruṁ hadu(di)neṁṭu yōga baraṁgaḷuṁ svasti samasta-

20 praśasti-sahitaṁ śrī-Bhagavatī-dēvī-labdha-vara-prasādakaru[ṁ][2]

Second Plate : First Side

21 Śrī-Vāsudēva-[chakra*]-lāṁcha(chha)naruṁ[3] Śrī-Gavu(va)ṟeśvara-dēva-divya-śrī-pā

22 da-padm-ārādhakulaina chālū(lu)mūla padunenimidi-samayā-

23 la ubhayā(ya)-nānā-dēśi akhila-nālgu-dēśāla samasta-pekkaṁḍrūnu ǀ

24 Svasti [ǀ*]śrīman=mahāmaṁḍalēśvara Kākatīyya Pratāparudradēva-

25 mahārājulu Oruṁgallu modali paṭnamugānu sukha-saṁka-

26 thā-vinōdaṁbunaṁ-bru(bṛi)thvīrājyamu sēyuchuṁḍaṁgānu

27 Peḍakaṁṭi dēśamulōnī Cheṟunūri suṁka-karaṇālu Aṁnamarāju-

28 ṁnu Siṁgarājuṁnu padunenimidi samayālakuṁnu samaya-

29 virōdhulayi naḍavaṁgānu Peḍakaṁṭi dēśāṇaku mukhyamayina

30 Naṁdyāla-sta(stha)ḷamu chālū(lu)mūla padunenimidi-samayā-

Second Plate : Second Side[4]

31 la samasta-pekkaṁdrūnu śrī-Chennakēśava-perumāḷa mukha-maṁ-

32 ḍapamunaṁdu vajra-baisiga veṭṭi drōhulaina Aṁnamarājuku Siṁ-

33 garājuku Dēśāla pekkaṁḍru ghaṁṭa vrēsi ā paṁtagāṁḍu Lōki-se-

34 ṭṭi koḍuku Attenaku siguruṁnu saṁbaḍamuṁnu ichchi paṁpitē-

35 nu ā drōhulaina Aṁnamarājuṁnu Siṁgarājuṁnu

36 poḍichi paṁtamu sēsi āchāramu sellimstēnu dēśāla pekkaṁḍru mechchi

37 Svasti [ǁ*] śrī-jayābhyudaya-śrī-Śaka-varushaṁbulu ǀ[5] 1244

38 agunēṁṭi Duṁdubhi-saṁvatsara Kārttika śu 5 Gu ǀ ā paṁtagāṟa

39 Attenaku gollena cheṟlu viḍuvaka ichchina tāṁbra-śāsana-krama-

40 m-eṭlaṁnnanu ǀ 500 mūṁpu asibeluṁ ǀ 500 gāḍidi a-

1 Read *mīseyal-u*°.

2 The *anusvāra* seems to have been engraved in very small size below the letter *ru*.

3 *Anusvāra* is engraved in very small size between the letters *ru* and *śrī*.

4 The numeral 2 is engraved in the left margin just below the first letter indicating the number of the plate.

5 This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

Third Plate : First Side

41 sibelurh I 500 enupotula pratti malagalurh uppu perukalu-
42 rh nuli malagalurh I 500 edla chiratadarhgalurh I 500 miri-
43 yapu perukalurh I 500 pomka perukalurh I 500 charh-
44 ḍlurh I 500 chaitralurh I 500 enurhgulurh I 500 gu-
45 ṛalurh paṭṭu-nulu garhdhamu kasturi muttu-maṇi-
46 kyādi navaratnalunurh I nānā-sarakulu emi dechchinā-
47 nu arhminānu konnanu sarvvamanyarh I suryya-charh-
48 dr-ārkka-sthāyigānu istimi II i parhta-garhḍu e deśamu-
49 mūrhda naḍachinānu a deśamu rajulurhnu a pekkarh-
50 ḍrunu chelimpuvāru [I*] chellirhpaka evvaru vakramu sē-

Third Plate : Second Side

51 sināru Vāraṇāsini parhcha brarhhmatya[1] sesina doshāna povu-
52 vāru tama pedda-koḍukurh jarhpi kapalāna kaṭuka vaṭṭina
53 doshāna povuvāru strī-vadhānu gō-vadhanu chēsina doshāna
54 pōvuvāru Garhga karata kavularh boḍichina doshānarh
55 bōvuvāru[I*] yāvaḥ charhdrasya sūryyasya I
56 yāvatishṭhatu mēdinī I yāvad=Rāma-katha lokē I tāva-
57 d=rājyarh vibhishaṇa II Sva-datta dviguṇarh puṇyarh I para-da-
58 tt-ānukulanarh I para-datt-āpaharēna I sva-dattarh nishpa-
59 larh bhavetu[2] II Śrī-Govindāya-nama[ḥ*] I Marhgala-mahā-śrī-śrī [II*]

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1 Read *brahma-hatya*

2 These two popular imprecatory verses are replete with orthographical errors.

iii a

iii b

Scale Three-Fourths

No. 24—BARADIPADA COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF NANDARĀJADĒVA, YEAR 2

(*1 Plate*)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The copper-plate charter, edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered while digging a field at Baradipada near Narala P.S., in Kalahandi District, Orissa. The plates are now kept in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubanēśvar. They were examined and their impressions and photographs taken when Shri K.G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist visited Bhubanēśvar in 1980 in the course of his official tour. The charter is edited here with the help of these impressions and photographs.

The plates are three in number and they are rectangular in shape, each one of them measuring 12.4 cm in length and 4.9 cm in breadth. They are strung together with a copper ring, the two ends of which are soldered to the two sides of a circular seal which is 2.5 cm in diameter. The seal is very much corroded and it seems to contain a legend in one line of which only the first letter *śrī* is legible. The writing on the plates is in a fairly good state of preservation although the letters have not been deeply and sharply incised. There are altogether 18 lines of writing distributed on the inner side of the first plate and on all four sides of the remaining two plates. While I, II a and II b contain 4 lines of writing each, III a contains 5 lines of which the last one is made up of only two letters while III b carries a single line giving the details of the date.

The **characters** belong to the Kaliṅga alphabet of about the 7th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of the Sumaṇḍala plates of Pṛithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka dated in the Gupta year 250,[1] the Kanās plate of Lōkavigraha-bhaṭṭāraka dated in the Gupta year 280[2] and the Gañjām plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja dated in the Gupta year 300[3]. However, the letter *ś* does not have a round loop on top of its left limb as is found in the charters referred to above. In this connection, it may be noted that in the above three records, both the round-looped and triangle-looped varieties of *ś* are found whereas in the present charter, only the triangle-loopd type of *ś* is seen with no inside opening. This probably means that the charter under study is somewhat later in date. Consequently, we are inclined to assign this charter to about the second half of the 7th century A.D.

There are some **orthographical** errors met with in the record, including certain omissions and commissions and these have been rectified while editing the text below.

The record is in prose. It commences with the auspicious words *Siddham* (expressed by a symbol) and *svasti*. It then describes (lines 1-5) Parvatadvāra from where the charter in question is issued. Then is mentioned (lines 5-8) the donor of the grant *viz.*,

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1 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 79.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 321 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

Nandarajadeva who, it may be noted is not endowed with any of the royal titles although he is described as having his foot-stool illumined by the jewels adorning the crowns of the feudatory kings. The charter then records (lines 8-15) the royal order addressed to the villagers residing in the village Chitālikā registering the perpetual grant of that village to the *brahmaṇas* Bhānu-śarmman, Gauri-śarmman and Mātṛi-śarmman belonging to different *gotras*, *charaṇas* and *pravaras* for the merit of the donor's own merit and that of his parents. The residents of the above village were asked (lines 15-17) to make over to the donee the customary privileges i.e., *bhāga*, *bhoga*, etc. The record is dated (line 18) in the king's second regnal year and the 9th day (*navamī*). The name of the month is not given. Further, the charter does not contain any imprecatory verses as is usually found in the concluding portions of other copper-plate grants.

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it introduces, for the first time, a king by name Nandarajadeva ruling over an area included in the present Kalahandi District in the 7th century A.D. The record, however, does not disclose the name of the family to which Nandarajadeva belonged nor does it mention his forbears. It only states that the charter was issued from Parvatadvāra which, from the way it is described in the grant, makes one conjecture that it might have been his capital. This place finds mention in the Terāsiṅghā plates of *maharaja* Tushṭikara[1] which on palaeographic grounds have been assigned to the first half of the 6th century A.D. In the endorsement to the said grant, Pārvatadvāraka is referred to as the place from where the queen-mother Kastubhasayyā (Kaustubhēśvarī?) makes a grant. In the main charter, however, the place of issue is Tarabhramaraka from where *mahārāja* Tushtikara gives the grant. From this, it can be concluded that Parvatadvāraka was included in the dominions of *mahārāja* Tushṭikara and it was an important place in his period. It is not known whether the same dynasty to which *mahārāja* Tushṭikara belonged continued to rule the same region in Kalahandi District in the seventh century A.D. and whether Nandarājadēva of the present charter belonged to the same dynasty. In this connection, it may be pointed out that in the Terāsiṅghā plates, *mahārāja* Tushṭikara is described as a devotee of the goddess Stambhēśvarī whereas in the charter under review, no such description is found with regard to Nandarājadēva.

Parvatadvāraka, the place of issue of the present grant, cannot be identified. Dr. D.C. Sircar believes that it might have been situated on a pass between two hills.[2] Chitālikā, the gift village also cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 Siddham [|*] Svasti [||*] Pratimatta-sūchit-ābhinava-ma[ñja]-

2 ri-kusum-ōdgam=ōdbhūshita-śākhā-pravalānt-ā-

3 vali-lagna-madhyā[t*] samōda-mudita-mā(pra)bhā-

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1 Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 274 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 276.

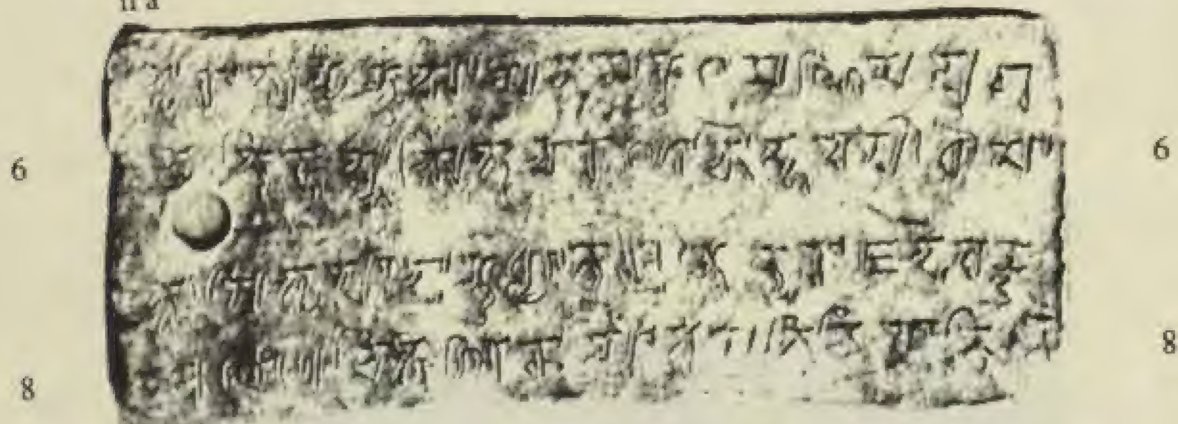
3 From impressions and photographs.

BARADIPADA COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF NANDARĀJADĒVA, YEAR 2

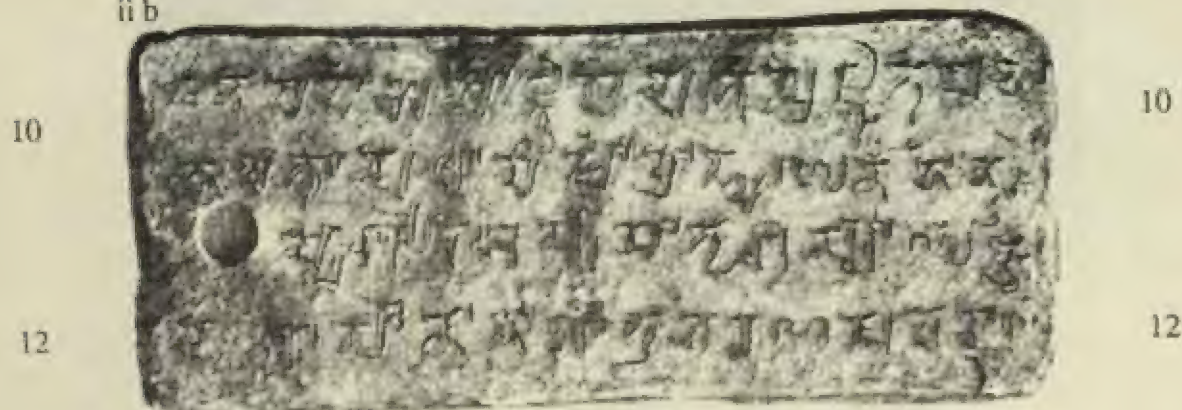
i



ii a



ii b



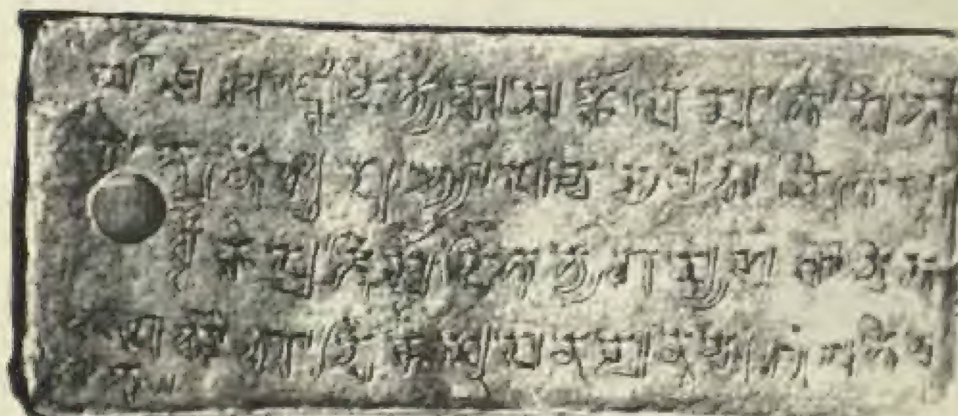
Scale : Actual Size

K. V. Ramesh

iii a

14 14

16 16



iii b

18 18



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : Actual Size

4 bhi[ḥ*]śilīmukhair=alaṁkṛita-drumatat-[1] Parvata-

Second Plate : First Side

5 dvārāt=paryanta-sāmanta-makuṭa-maṇi-mayūkha-

6 dyutir=udbhāsita-charaṇ-āmbh-ōdbhava-pīdhō(ṭhō) mā-

7 tā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta[ḥ*] śrī-Nandarājadēva[ḥ*]ku-

8 śalī || Chitalikayāṁtapra(t=pra)tinivāsinō

Second Plate : Second Side

9 janapadā(dān) samājñāpayati prajñātam=astu

10 bhavatāṁ yathāṁ=esha[2] brāhmaṇānaṁ[3] Bhānu-[śa]-

11 rmma-Gaurī-śarmma-Mātṛi-śarmmaṇā[4] a-

12 yaṁ grāmō nānā-gotra-charaṇa-pravarāṇā-

Third Plate : First Side

13 m[5]=Śaśāṅk-Āditya-samakālaṁ mātā-pitrō-

14 r-ātmanaś=cha puṇya(ṇy=ō)pachayārthaṁ salila-pū-

15 rvvakaṁ pratipādita[m=i*]ty=a[va*]gamya yath-ōchita-

16 bhāga-bhōgādikam=upalayanta[ḥ*] sukhaṁ prativa-

17 sata [||*]

Third Plate : Second Side

18 [vija]ya-rājya-saṁvat 2 dina-navamī[||*]

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1 Read *drum-ōpētāt.*

2 Read *yath=aitēshāṁ.*

3 Read *brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ.*

4 Read *-śarmmabhyaḥ.*

5 Read *pravarēbhyaḥ.*

No. 25—AN EARLY INSCRIPTION FROM PAṞAIYAṈPAṬṬU

(1 Plate)

P. Venkatesan, Mysore

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is found engraved on an almost inaccessible natural rock at the top of a hill, locally called *Śuṉaippara-kuṉṟu*, on account of the existence of a natural spring (*śunai*) which provides drinking water to the people living nearby, roughly some two kilometres away to the north-west of the village Paṟaiyaṉpaṭṭu in Gingee Taluk of South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu.[1]

It is in Tamil language and engraved in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of about the 6th century A.D. It begins with the salutation *namottu*. In all it contains five lines of writing. The letters are engraved in bold hand with deep cuttings. Except for a few letters which are damaged owing to exposure to open atmosphere, the inscription, on the whole, is well preserved.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is interesting as some of the letters like *k*, *ch* and *r* point to their evolution direct from Brahmi script. A few letters like *a*, *m*, *t*, *n* and *r* display archaic features of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet. The *dirgha* is clearly distinguished by a horizontal stroke on the right side top of letters as in *mo*, *pa*, *na*, *ma*, *ra* and *no*. The *dirgha* form of *śi* is shown by the drawing of a near full round curve whereas the ordinary form of *ti* is devoid of this round curve. It is also significant that in the word *maṉakkar* the letters *k* and *ka* are written jointly. The inscription is characterised by the use of dots (*puḷḷi*) above consonants like, *ṭ*, *ṟ* and *t*.

The **characters** of this inscription may be compared to those of the Tirunatharkuṉṟu inscription,[2] which is also written in similar characters, the major difference being the use of dots (*puḷḷi*) above the consonants in the present inscription which is conspicuously absent in the latter. The sign for medial *ai* in the letter *kai* is distinctly shown in our present record by drawing a full curve with a loop on its left side, whereas in the Tirunatharkuṉṟu inscription it is shown merely with a loop, and not with a full curve. The letter *ṉ*, in the name Ārātaṉ, is shown fully ḍeveloped in our present record, characterised by the use of a loop at the beginning, whereas the *ṉ* in the word *aṉaśaṉan* in the Tirunātharkuṉṟu record is much simpler in form. It is also interesting to note that our present record has been copied from a place not very far from Tirunatharkuṉṟu near Śiṅgavaram, both the places being situated in the same Gingee Taluk.

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1 This inscription is included in *AREp.*, 1984-85. The inscription was first discovered by the late Pulavar S. Kuppuswamy who was kind enough to supply a photograph through Sri N. Sethuraman.

2 *SII.*, Vol. XVII, No. 262, Introduction, para. 1 and plate.

The **characters** of this inscription may also be compared with those of the Pūlāṅkuṟichchi inscription[1] though the latter is slightly earlier in date. We find striking similarity in the characters employed in both these inscriptions. The forms of some of the test letters like *k*, *t*, *ch* and *n* show striking similarity in both the records. Also the bold characters, engraved in a fashion common to both the inscriptions, make us to believe that they belong to the same school of engraving. Thus on palaeographical grounds our present inscription falls into the same period to which the Pūlāṅkuṟichchi inscription also belongs.

Some of the letters in our inscription such as *n*, *t*, *r* and *k* are apparently more advanced than those of the Arachchalūr inscription[2] in Brāhmī characters. A few letters like *n*, *p*, *r*, *s* and *ṛ* which appear in our inscription also bear striking similarity with those appearing in the hero-stone inscription[3] from Iruḷappaṭṭi in Dharmapuri District though the latter is also, like the one from Pūlāṅkuṟichchi, slightly earlier than the record under study. The one major difference is that our present inscription seems to have been written by the refined hand of an engraver of the Jaina School. Apart from this marked factor, it may also be pointed out that all the inscriptions referred to above, including the one under study, belong to a stage in which the Brāhmī script was gradually getting transformed into Vaṭṭeḻuttu.

The **object** of the inscription is to commemorate the death by penance of Ārātaṉ, the disciple of the Jaina preceptor Vachchaṇandi of Pāṇāḍu. It states that the spot of the inscription is the memorial (*niśitikai*) of Ārātaṉ.

The name of the Jaina teacher Vachchaṇandi and the territorial division *viz.*, Pāṇāḍu are interesting. Vachchaṇandi may probaly be the Vajjiranandi of the Jaina school at Southern Pāṭaliputra (i.e., the modern Tiruppappuliyur), which is not far away from the provenance of our inscription. The territorial division *viz.*, Pāṇāḍu is, in all probability, the same as Bāṇāḍu *i.e.*, the the nāḍu of the Bāṇas. The Bāṇas were an ancient line of kings, who also ruled a portion of the Tamil country.[4] This is the earliest so far known inscription, which mentions their territorial division as Pāṇāḍu. The names Vāṇagōppāḍi-nāḍu and Perumbāṇappāḍi, etc., are employed in the Tamil inscriptions of the latter period to indicate the territory of the Bāṇas. This territory probably formed the southern portions of the modern North Arcot District and probably also a portion adjacent to it in the South Arcot District. The village Mēlvaṇṇakkambāḍi, possibly the corrupt form of Mēlvāṇagōppāḍi, may have been the western boundary of Vāṇagōppāḍi, and the village Kīḻvaṇṇakkambāḍi near Devikāpuram may have ben the eastern boundary of the same division. The provenance of our inscription viz., Paṟaiyaṉpaṭṭu was well within the Bāṇa territory.

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1 The full text of this important inscription awaits publication.

2 *AREp.*, 1961-62, No. B 280 and Introduction, p. 10 and plate II; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XL, pp. 91-94

3 Above, Vol. XXXIX, part VI, pp. 211-14 and plate.

4 For a detailed discussion on the Bāṇas, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 229-40.

The inscription is silent about the number of days Arataṉ, the disciple of Vachchaṇandi Āśiriyar, observed fast before his death, whereas it is customary among the Jaina inscriptions to state the number of days the deceased observed fast before his death. The Tirunātharkuṉṟu inscription states that Chandiranandi Āśirigar observed fast for fifty seven days before his death. Another inscription[1] from the same place states that Ilaiya-bhaṭārar observed fast for thirty days and ultimately died.

The provenance of the inscription, which is not very far away from Tirunātharkuṉṟu, where two similar inscriptions are found, shows that this area was one of the strongholds of Jainism in those days.

TEXT[2]

1 Namōttu [|*] Paṇaṭṭu Va[ch]-

2 chaṇandi āśiriya-

3 r māṇākkar-ārātaṉ

4 nōṟṟu muḍitta [ni]-

5 śitikai [||*]

1 *SII*, Vol. XVII, No. 261.

2 From the impression.

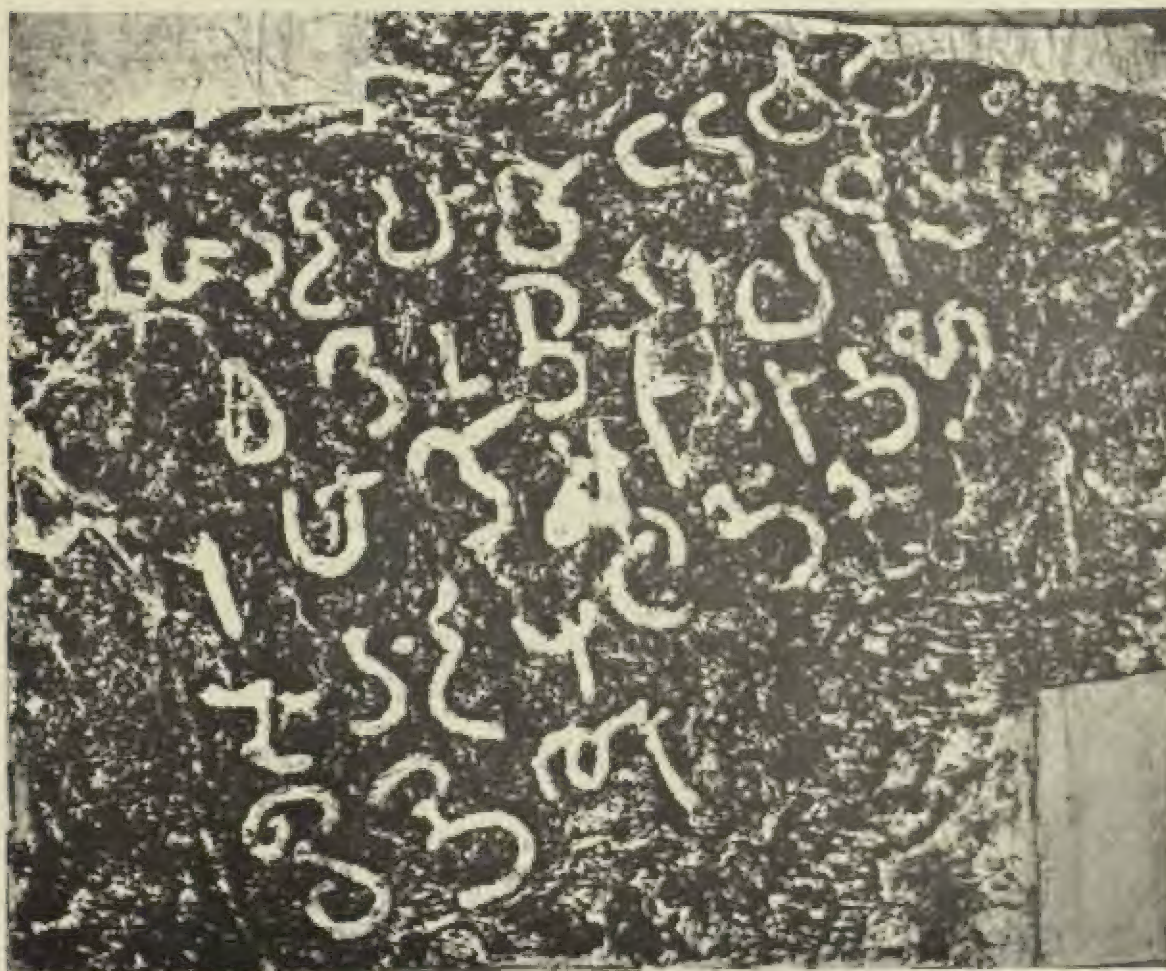
AN EARLY INSCRIPTION FROM PAṞAIYAṈPAṬṬU

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2

4



K. V. Ramesh

No. 26—TĒRĀLA INSCRIPTION OF SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA VISHṆUVARDDHANA, YEAR 25

(*2 Plates*)

S.S. Ramachandramurthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription[1], edited herewith the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on two sides of a slab set up in front of the Siddhēśvarasvāmi temple at Tērāla, Palnad Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription was originally copied during the year 1929-30 and it was again copied in 1977. However, the impressions taken in the latter year contain only 14 lines on the obverse and 10 on the reverse while the original epigraph has 17 and 14 lines on the obverse and reverse respectively. This inscription is published in the *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts,* Part IV (hereafter referred to as *Corpus*) with a fairly good facsimile containing complete text.[2] Since the estampages prepared during 1929-30 are not readily available the inscription is edited here with the help of impressions taken in 1977 and the plate published in the said *Corpus.* A number of mistakes, including in the reading of the date, committed while editing the inscription in the *Corpus,* as also the interesting palaeographical features of the record warrant its re-editing in the following pages.

The inscription is engraved in Telugu language and characters belonging to the end of the 8th century to which it is actually to be assigned taking the internal evidence also into consideration.

Some of the **palaeographical** features of the record are very interesting. Though it belongs to the end of the 8th century, as attested by the internal evidence, some of the letters betray palaeographical features of about the middle of the 9th century. But a close study of the other letters in the epigraph coupled with the positive nature of internal evidence furnished by the text of the record clearly proves that it actually belongs to the previous century. Coming to its interesting palaeographical features it may be observed that many letters appear in their cursive as well as regular forms. The use of so many cursive forms in inscriptions of this period and region is an uncommon feature. The following letters are engraved in cursive forms : *n,* lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11 and 16; *m,* line 8; *y,* line 2; *r,* lines 3 and 11; *v,* lines 1, 5, 6, 10, 19 and 27; the head mark of *d* in *iruvadyadi* (lines 5-6) and that of *h* in *Bahūdhavya* (line 7) is also engraved in cursive form. The longish vertical form of *k* is an early palaeographical feature.

As regards **orthography** the following features deserve mention. The use of the conjunct *um* in *Pañchamiy-um* (line 10) is an early Telugu feature, subsequently replaced by *un.* The use of class nasal in some cases side by side with the use of *anusvāra* in some others is a common transitional feature of the period in question. The following words are written with class nasals : *nēṇṭhi* (lines 7 and 8); *Kĺompala* (lines 12-13) and *pasiṇḍi* (lines 15 and 17). The two instances where *anusvāra* is used instead of class nasal are : *vāraṁba*

1 *AREp.,* 1929-30, No. 80.

2 *Corpus,* pp. ix and 1-2; plate facing p. 1.

(lines 10-11) and *°svarambuna* (lines 11-12). The expression *anenthi* (for *a* + *nenthi*), lines 7-8, formed obviously on the analogy of *appasindi* (for *a* + *pasindi* lines 16-17), is interesting. Doubling of the consonants immediately followed by a *repha* can be noted in a few instances such as *Sarvva* (line 1), *-varddhana* (line 2), etc.

The inscription is dated in the 25th regnal year of Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja, the other details of date being Bahudhānya, Kārttika śu.5, Sunday. This king may be identified with Eastern Chāḷukya Vishṇuvarddhana IV, as can be seen in the sequal. If this identification is accepted the details of the date would correspond to 798 A.D., October 18, Thursday (and not Sunday).

The object of the epigraph is to record the grant of 100 gold *gadyāṇas* to the god Siddhēśvara at Tēṟāla. There is a reference to the grant of some land also to the same deity but the details are not clear as the second side of the slab containing those details has suffered considerable damage.

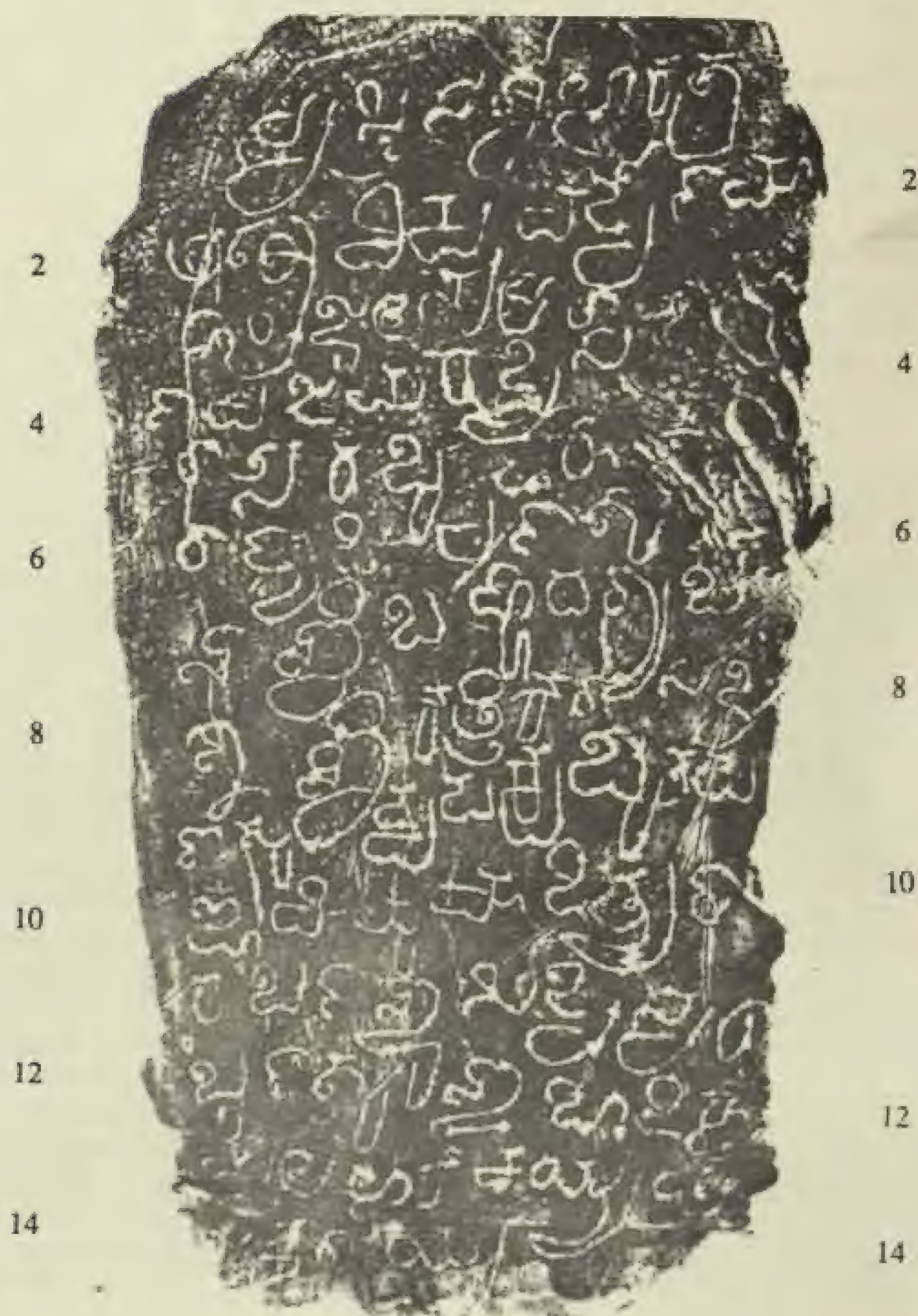
The inscription opens with the auspicious word *Svasti* followed by the mention of the reigning king and the details of date discussed above. Then it proceeds to record the grant of 100 gold (*pasiṇḍi*) *gadyanas* to the god Siddhēśvara by Kḷompala Lōkamayya and Jeṭṭimayya of Guṇḍabaḍi. The following portion upto line 21 has suffered serious damage as a result of which we are unable to understand the details about the grant of land (*chēnu*) which is adverted to in the subsequent lines. The portion from lines 22 to 25 says that 8 *puṭṭis* of land was donated to the god Siddhēśvara. The expression *ap-pasiṇḍi yichchi* ('by giving that gold') occurring in line 17 tempts us to surmise that the gift-land was purchased by paying 100 gold *gadyāṇas* donated by Lōkamayya and Jeṭṭimayya. This is followed by the imprecatory passage according to which those who obstruct this grant will incur the sin of destroying Śrīparvata and Tēṟambulu. Then the epigraph comes to a close with the statement that it was written by a certain Maka who was the son of Yacha[.] of Tēṟamulu.

As has been stated earlier, the serious mistakes committed in the earlier works necessitated the re-editing of this incription here. The most important mistake committed was about the date of the record. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1929-30 the regnal year was read as 5. Further this *Report* says, "The only Vishṇuvardhana whose 5th year was Bahudhānya is Vishṇuvardhana I, but the characters are too late for him. If the record be assumed to be a copy, the date of the grant would be 621-622. A.D. "[1] Subsequently this inscription was edited in the *Corpus* according to which also the regnal year of the king mentioned in the epigraph was 5. However, Sarvvalōkāśraya-Vishṇuvarddhana was taken here to be Vishṇuvarddhana II and as a result the date was equated to 679 A.D., October 6, Sunday.[2] Both the *Report* and the *Corpus* wrongly read the regnal year as 5 instead of 25. The concerned portion is read in the *Corpus* as follows : *vijayarājya-sa[ṁ]vatsara[ṁ*]bu[=aru rājyādi enagu neṇṭi.* The portion which is read in the *Corpus* as *ḷ=aru rājyādi* is actually to be read as *ḷ=iruvadyadi.* The first letter of this segment is *ḷi* and not *ḷa.* In this inscription the medial *i* is indicated by a circle and the top curve of medial *i* of *ḷi* can easily be seen as cutting the subscript *y* where the latter is joining its

1 Appendix C, p. 61

2 *Op. cit.*

TĒRĀLA INSCRIPTION OF SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA VISHṆUVARDDHANA, YEAR 25—PLATE I



K. V. Ramesh   Scale : One-Fourth

superscript *d*. Then, in what is taken by the *Corpus* as *rājya*, the first letter is nothing but a cursive *va* and the second one is *dya*. A comparison of these two letters with their counterparts occurring elsewhere in this inscription makes the above point abundantly clear and proves the authenticity of the suggested reading. Now, having confirmed that the regnal year is 25 and not 5 we can proceed to identify the king referred to in this record. The cyclic year Bahudhanya and the regnal year 25 correspond only in the case of Vishṇuvarddhana IV who is supposed to have commenced his rule in 772 A.D. If we accept 772 A.D. as the commencing year of his rule, the regnal year mentioned in our inscription is to be taken as current. Thus we can safely assume that the present inscription actually belongs to Vishṇuvarddhana IV and not to Vishṇuvarddhana I or II as is postulated by the *Report* and *Corpus* respectively.

The **geographical** names occurring in this inscription *viz.*, Teṛaṁbulu and Guṇḍabāḍi, may be identified respectively with Tērala, the findspot of the epigraph, and Guṇḍlapāḍu both in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District.

TEXT[1]

Obverse

1 Svasti [||*] Sarvvaloka(kā)śra-

2 ya-śrī-Vishnu(ṇu)[2]varddhana-mā(ma)-

3 harājula[3] prava[rddhamā]-

4 na-vijaya-ra(rā)jya-sa[ṁ]-

5 vatsara[ṁ]bu]=iru-

6 vadyadi[4]ēnagu-

7 neṇṭhi(ṇṭi) Bahūdhavya[5][ṁ]h=a-

8 neṇṭhi Ka(Kā)[r*]ttika[6] ma(mā)sabu-

9 na(na) su(śu)ddha-pakshabuna pa-

10 ñchamiyum=Ādityavā-

11 raṁba(bu)naṇḍu Siddhēsva(śva)ra-

12 ṁbuna Guṇḍabāḍi Kḷo-

13 ṁpala[7] Lōkamayyayi(yu)

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1 From estampages and fascimiles.

2 *Corpus* reads *Vishṇu*.

3 *Corpus* reads *rājulaku*. Obviously, it takes the subscript *ṇu* in *Vishṇu* of the previous line as *ku*.

4 *Corpus* reads *l-āru-rājyādi*.

5 *Corpus* reads *Bahudhanya*. Read *Bahudhānya*.

6 *Corpus* reads *Kaṁka*.

7 *Corpus* reads *Krompala*.

14 Jeṭṭumayyayi[1](yu) vi-
15 ḍichinā(na) pasinḍi nū-
16 ṟu gadyāṇabulu [||*] a-
17 p-pasinḍi[2] yichchi ṟe

Reverse[3]

18 . . cha . .
19 . ṟuvōli . .
20 . . . ṟ . . . .
21 mi chanḍa [che]nu
22 paḍināṟu [e*]nimi-
23 di puṭlu ya(yā)ḍla-pa[ṭṭu]
24 dini Siddhīsva(śva)ra[bu]-
25 naku viḍisi(chi)na [ne*]la[||*]
26 di(dī)niki aḍ[ḍ*]am=a-
27 yinavāru Śrīpa[r]vva[ta]-
28 bunu Teṟambula-
29 [n=a]lisinava(vā)ru [||*]
30 [Tē]ṟamula Yacha .
31 koḍuku Maka li..[||*]

1 *Corpus* reads *Jeṭṭrayya.*, obviously mistaking cursive *ma* for *ra.*

2 *Corpus* reads *hrampesinḍi.*

3 Text on this side of the slab as published in *Corpus* contains many mistakes including confusion in identifying the lines correctly.

TĒRĀLA INSCRIPTION F SARVALŌKĀŚRAYA VISHNUVARDDHANA, YEAR 25—PLATE II



K. V. Ramesh Scale : One-Fourth

No. 27—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA

(*2 Plates*)

K. V. Ramesh and S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The three inscriptions edited here for the first time, were noticed in the year 1940-41 and 1941-42 and are referred to hereinafter as *A*, *B* and *C* for the sake of convenience. Inscription *A* [1] was found engraved on a pillar in a ruined mosque in the village Vaḍapalli, Miryalguda Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh, while *B* [2] was found engraved on a slab paved on the platform round the *dhvaja-stambha* of the Kēśava temple in the village Koṟṟapāḍu, Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District. Inscription *C*[3] is engraved on a slab on the platform outside the Śiva temple in the same village. All the three inscriptions, though not verifiably dated, are palaeographically assignable to the 8th century A.D.

The primary interest in these records lies in the fact that they refer to the rule of a Balavarmma in the Nalgoṇḍa and Cuddapah region during the second half of the 8th century. Apart from these three records three more inscriptions referring to a Balavarmma of about the same period have so far been brought to light. Of these, one is a badly damaged Telugu inscription[4] from Koṟṟapāḍu and refers to an attack on the forces of Balavarmma by a certain Kaḷiki. A copper-plate inscription,[5] the genuineness of which is doubtful and which allegedly belongs to the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Prabhūtavarsha Gōvinda III and is dated in 831 A.D., refers to a Balavarmma as the father of Yaśōvarma and grandfather of Vimalāditya, the governor of Kuṇigaldēśa. The third inscription,[6] from Ballaṭgi, Manvi Taluk, Raichur District, Karnataka, which is badly damaged,but which palaeographically belongs to the second half of the 8th century, refers to a Balavarmma as *Chāḷukya-kula-ti*[*la**]*ka*. It is possible that the Balavarmma of the Vāḍapalli and Koṟṟapāḍu inscriptions, being edited now, and his namesake figuring in the Rāshṭrakūṭa copper-plate grant, the Ballaṭgi inscription as well as the damaged record from Koṟṟapāḍu, mentioned above are one and the same. It is also possible that he was a Chāḷukya feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and that he saw service as an administrator in different parts of the empire at different times.

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1 *AREp.*, 1941-42, No. E 46.

2 *Ibid.*, 1940-41, No. B 424. The text with plates and brief introduction is published in *Inss. of A.P. Cuddapah District*,Vol. I as No. 42. However, the text contains a few mistakes.

3 *AREp.*, 1940-41, No. B 421.

4 *Ibid.*, No. B 422. The language of the inscription is Telugu and not Kannada as mentioned with a question mark in the *Report*.

5 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 11 ff.

6 *AREp.*, 1961-62, No. B 547. This epigraph is engraved on the side of the same slab, the front face of which bears an undated inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Nityāvarsha (No. B 546). In the said *Report* the name of Balavarmma has been wrongly read as Kalivarma.

A. Vāḍapalli Inscription

This inscription which is damaged and incomplete, is engraved in early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters assignable to the second half of the 8th century, the **language** being Telugu prose. As regards **palaeography** the following points are noteworthy. Of the initial vowels only *a* and *i* occur respectively in the words *annaku* (line 3) and *ichchi* (line 4). The letter *v* (line 1) is engraved in cursive form, the shape being almost round. It may be noticed that the upper line of the letter *j* (line 2) is not joined with the middle line but is slightly bent at the left end a little above the middle line. As regards **orthography** it may be observed that the consonant immediately following *repha* is doubled as in Balavarmma (line 1). In one instance the consonant following *anusvāra* is also doubled (-°*rāṅkuśuṁḍḍu*, line 4) while the same is not observed in the expression *rājyaṁbu* (line 2). The use of a class nasal as well as *anusvāra* in the same expression is noticed in -°*rāṅkuśuṁḍḍu* (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the 1st regnal year (*prathama-rājyaṁbu*, line 2) of Balavarmma and its **object** seems to be to record some grant (details lost) to (the god) Muktēśvara by [Pa]rāṅkuśuṁḍḍu, probably for the merit of his elder brothr (*anna*). The ruler receives only the honorific *śrī*. No geographical names occur in the extant portion of this epigraph.

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti [||*]śrī-Balavarmma . .

2 rala prathama-rājyaṁbu . .

3 na annaku Muktīsa(śva)ra . .

4 . rāṅkuśuṁḍḍu ichchi

5 . . [lai]na

6 . ka . . . .

B. Koṛṟapāḍu Inscription

This inscription is also engraved in early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of the second half of the 8th century and its **language** is Telugu prose, which is not free from mistakes.

As regards **palaeography**, this epigraph exhibits transitional features in the case of many letters as will be shown below. The initial vowel *a* and *i* occur in the expressions *a nalvaru* (line 11) and *ichina* (line 7) and *Inikkuṟēṟu* (line 10) respectively. The letter *k*, though still retaining the earlier feature of longish verticals clearly betrays in some cases a tendency towards shortness. There are two varieties of *ch*- in one form the letter has a dent in the bottom (*Chilku*, line 10), while the same is absent in the second (*chēnu*, line 4 and *Chiḷka*, line 5 and *ichina*, line 7). The letter *j* can be compared with its counterpart occurring in inscription *A*. In one instance the letter *m* is engraved in its cursive form (-°*varmma*, line 2). It is interesting to note that in one case the letter *r* is engraved in its early form where the right side vertical line does not join the left side line at the top (-*rājūla*, line 2). This may

1 From inked estampages.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF BALAVARMMA — PLATE I

A-Vādapalli Inscription



K. V. Ramesh Scale : One-Third *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLII

be compared with its counterparts occurring in lines 12, 13 and 16, where both the lines join at the top. **Palaeographically** another interesting letter occurring in this epigraph is *ṟ*. We have as many as four forms of this letter. The first form is commonly met with in the inscriptions of this period. This has two dents, one each on top and at the bottom joining which a vertical line is drawn. This line is cut by a horizontal line running in the middle from the left end to the right (lines 3, 10 and 11). The second is a tripartite form with a horizontal line engraved as in the above case. The vertical line, however, is drawn only in the lower half dividing it into two equal halves. This occurs only once in line 4 (*tuṟpū*) where it is a superscript. The third form is almost roundish and is divided into four equal compartments with a horizontal and vertical line. This also occurs only once (*-pāṟūnaku*, line 6). In the last variety the letter is divided into two equal halves by a horizontal line. It occurs as an independent letter in lines 14 and 18 and as a subscript in line 17 (*–bōyūnṟū*). It is not known for certain if this modified symbol has been deviced to denote some peculiar regional variation in the pronunciation of the Dravidian retroflex *ṟ*.

The letter *v* is engraved in almost a triangular form with a dent at bottom and with a line extending at the top to join the head-mark (line 8). This is a clear evidence of the process through which it developed into its present form.

This inscription is not free from **orthographical** errors which are duly corrected while editing the text. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as usual (-*°varmma*, lines 2, 6).

This is not dated but can be assigned to the second half of the 8th century as has been stated above.

The main **object** of the epigraph is to record (line 1-7) the grant of a *pannaviśa* of land, situated to the east of Koṟapaṟu to the *brāhmana* Chiḷka-pāṟa as a *datti* by Balavarmma, who receives the honorific *śrī*. Lines 8-12 record another grant of two villages viz., Krōvūḍu and Veḷval which were to be enjoyed (*takinavaru*) by four individuals, namely, Narakōḷu, Kalapuḷu, Chiḷkupāṟa (who is obviously identical with his namesake referred to above) and Iṇikkuṟēṟu. Though no other details such as the name of the donor are specified, it is obvious that the same Balavarmma referred to above would have granted these two villages also. This is followed (lines 13-16) by the usual imprecatory passage. The record ends with the statement that Prithivi-śarva-bōyunṟu was the writer.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this epigraph Koṟapaṟu is obviously identical with the findspot of the inscription while Krōvūḍu and Veḷval are not identifiable on a modern map.

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti [II*]śrī-

2 Balavarmmarājū(ju)-

3 la Koṟapaṟū(ṟu)ta

1 From inked estampages.

4 tuṟpūna[1] chēnu pa-

5 n[n]aviśa Chiḷkap[ā]-

6 ṟū(ṟu)naku Bala[2]va[r]mma-

7 ḷa ichina[3] datti [||]

8 Krōvūḍnū Veḷval[nū]

9 Narakōḷ[u] Kalapu[ḷ]

10 Chiḷkupa(pā)ṟa Iṇi-

11 kkuṟēṟu ā nalva-

12 ru takine(na)varu [||*]

13 Va(Vā)raṇa(ṇā)śi(si) ḷachchi

14 nava(vā)ṟu(ṟu) ponṟu

15 dinikki[4] vakrapū(bu) va[ch]chu-

16 va(vā)rikki(ki) [||*] Prithivi-śa-

17 rva-bōyū(yu)nṟū(nṟu) vra(vrā)si-

18 naṟu[5] [||*]

C. *Koṟṟapāḍu Inscription*

As in the case of the inscription *A* and *B* this is also engraved in early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of the second half of the 8th century and the **language** is Telugu. The epigraph appears to be incomplete.

Palaeographically this record presents more developed forms compared to the other two inscriptions edited above. The writing is well executed, the letters being of uniform size and beautifully engraved. The initial vowels *i*, *ū* and *e* occur in lins 14, 8 and 5 respectively. The medial *u* occurring in the expression *Koṟṟapaṟu* (line 4) is interesting in that its left vertical line is joined at the top with the right vertical line by a horizontal line thus making it appear like the letter *r* of the 8th century. This may be compared with the other signs of medial *ū* occurring in the words *-cheruvu (line 3) and Kokiyu (line 6)*. However, in the case of the word *Naḍu-* (line 13) the left line of the medial *u* sign touches the bottom of the letter *ḍ*. The letter *ch* occurs in two forms, one with a dent at both top and bottom (*cheruvu*, line 3) and the other with a dent only at the bottom (*poḍichi*, line 10). The right side line of the

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1 Read *tūṟpuna*

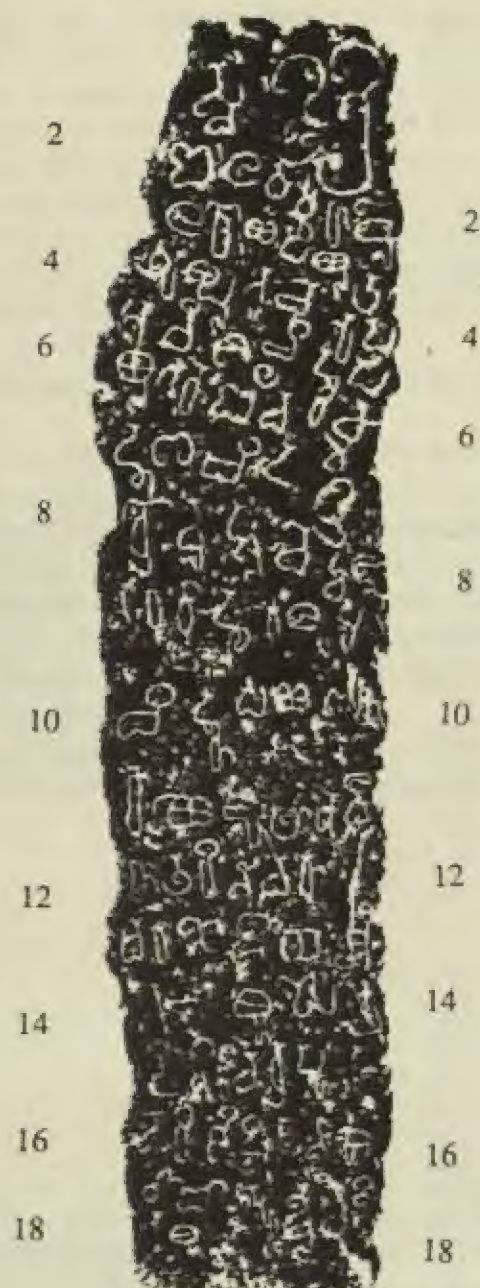
2 The letter *la* is engraved above the line, between the letters *ba* and *va*.

3 The letter *na* is engraved between the letters *chi* and *da* in small size.

4 Read *dīniki*.

5 Read *-nāru*.

B. Koṟṟapāḍu Inscription



Scale : One-Eighth

letter *b* is split in the middle and both of its ends take each an inward loop leaving a gap between each other (*Bala-°*, line 6). This letter may be compared with its counterparts occurring in the inscriptions *A* and *B* where the right side line is vertical with no split. The letter *v* occurring in this inscription (*cheruvu*, line 3) may be compared with its counterpart occurring in inscription *B*, line 8. The letter *ṛ* both as independent and as subscript, is completely different from its counterparts occurring in the other two inscriptions edited above in that it looks like modern Telugu *ṛ* (lines 4, 9 and 12). The letter *l* also is quite different from the letter *l* occurring in the inscriptions *A* and *B*. Here the right side of its line takes an upward curve which is a more developed form (line 6). On the whole this inscription offers more developed palaeographical features which, however, may be reasonably attributed to the individual style of the engraver and need not be taken to imply a much later date for this inscription to that of the other two inscriptions edited above.

This record is free from **orthographical** errors. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as in *Balavarmma* (lines 6-7); the use of the verb *āṟuva* in the sense of 'having destroyed' is quite interesting.[1]

This is not dated, but may be assigned to the second half of the 8th century as suggested above.

The **object** of the inscription is not clear due to its incomplete nature. However, it is in the nature of hero-stone inscription as it records the death of the hero Kōki. It opens with the auspicious word *Svasti* followed by the statement that, while a certain Kōki was ruling over Saṅgrāmacheruvu[2] and Koṟṟapāṟu, the forces (*pāgu*)[3] of Balavarmma having marched against him and destroyed (-*āṟuva*) the village (*ūru*) (probably Koṟṟapāṟu since the inscription is set up there), he (*i.e.*, Kōki) fought and died (lines 2-11). A certain Sōma-pāṟa and the village Naḍupaṟṟu are referred to in lines 11-13. However, the context in which these two are mentioned is not clear.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in this record the village Koṟṟapāṟu is already identified while the other two viz., Saṅgrāmacheruvu and Naḍupaṟṟu are not found on the modern map.

TEXT[4]

1 Svasti [||*]śrī [||*]

2 Saṁgrāma-

3 cheruvu Ko-

4 ṟṟapāṟu

---

1 cf. the verb *āṟuchu* 'to destory'—Visvanatha Satyanarayana, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

2 While noticing this inscription in the *report* it was wrongly stated that Saṁgrāmacheruvu was ruling over Koṟṟapāṟu, obviously taking the former to be a personal name.

3 The said *Report* refers to the chief as Balavarmma-pāgu. *The word pāgu*, however, is an earlier form of vāgu which means 'army'. cf. C.P. Brown, *A Telugu-English Dictionary* (1969), p. 1154; Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 192, text line 10.

4 From inked estampages.

5 eḷan-Koki-

6 yu Balava-

7 rmma pagupa-

8 y=vachchi uru-

9 n=aṟuva

10 poḍichi pa-

11 ḍiye [||*] So

12 ma-paṟa

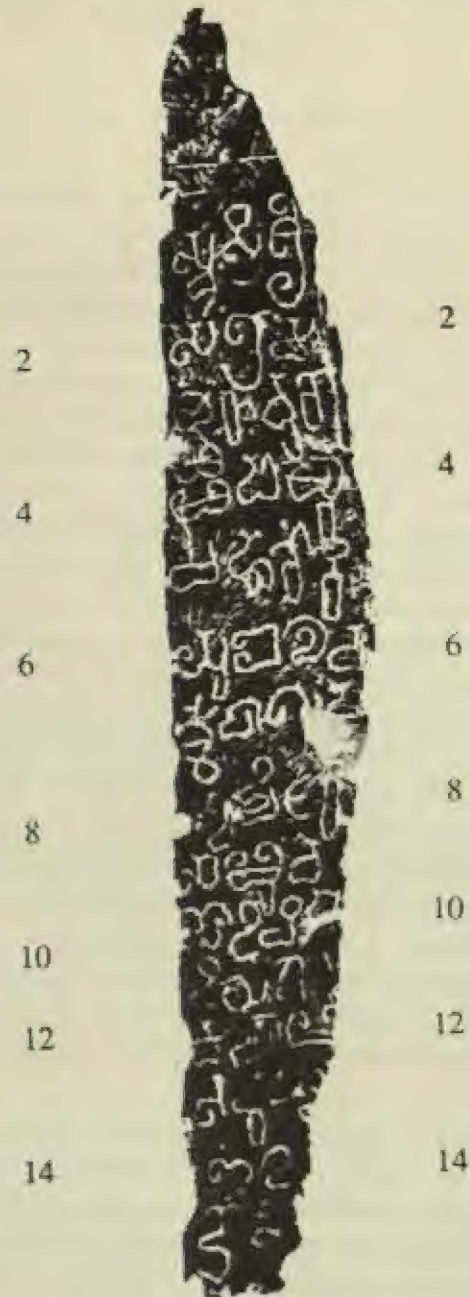
13 Naḍupa[rru]

14 idi

15 drōṉu

16 . . .

C. Koṟṟapāḍu Inscription



K. V. Ramesh

Scale : One-Sixth

No. 28—MŪḌIGERE PLATES OF KADAMBA SIṀHAVARMAN, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

G.S. Gai, Mysore

This set of plates was discovered, along with another set of plates belonging to the Kadamba king Vishṇuvarman, about the middle of April, 1983, by one Kunji Hanumanna of Mūḍigere village in Tarikere Taluk of Chikkamagalur District, Karnataka State. He found them while ploughing his field for cultivation. The plates ultimately reached the hands of A. Sundara, former Director of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka State and now Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnataka University, Dharwad. Sundara has published this record, along with the other inscription, in the *Literary Supplement* to the *Kannaḍa Prabha* daily newspaper dated 7th August, 1983.[1] But the text published by him is far from satisfactory. B.R. Gopal has subsequently edited these two records in his *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions,* Vol. I (1985) as Nos. 36 and 38, of which the latter number refers to the present inscription, without illustrations. These texts also contain errors of ommission and commission. While editing the grant of Siṁhavarman, Gopal observes that the characters of this record are not the usual box-headed type of the other Kadamba records and that the language is also faulty, thereby giving room to doubt the genuineness of this inscription. Since I do not agree with these observations of Gopal, I edit this copper-plate inscription in the pages of this journal from the excellent impressions kindly supplied to me by K. V. Ramesh, Director of Epigraphy, Mysore.

The set consists of four plates, each measuring 23 cm. in length and 4.5 cm. in breadth. In the middle of the left margin of each plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about 4.5 cm. in diameter and the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of seal. This circular seal, about 4.2 cm. in diameter, does not seem to contain any emblem or writing. While only the inner sides of the first and the fourth plate are engraved, the second and third plates have writing on both sides. In all, there are 19 lines of writing. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse sides of the second and third plates contain the numerical figures 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

The **characters** of the record belong to the southern variety of the script which is found employed in the other records of the Kadamba dynasty and which may be assigned to the 5th-6th century A.D. The letters show clear serifs at the top with box-headed type in many cases. These box-headed types are more prominent in this inscription than in some other record like the Perbbaṭa grant[2] of Vishṇuvarman and the charter[3] of Mṛigeśavarman. It may, however, be pointed out that the box-head types in the Kadamba records are not

1 The details regarding the discovery and description of these plates are taken from this publication.

2 *Mys Arch. Rep.*, 1925, p. 98.

3 Above, Vol. XL, pp. 109 ff.

uniform and while some are squarish, some are rather rectangular while others are of dimunitive type. In view of this, the observation of Gopal that the box-head types of the record under study are not of the regular box-headed types need not be considered as a defect.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, except an invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end, the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the consonant following *r* is reduplicated. The language is practically free from errors, except in a couple of cases only. Hence, Gopal's remark that the language of this inscription is faulty giving room to doubt its genuineness is not justified. Unfortunately, Gopal's reading of the text-portion, mostly following that of Sundara, is faulty in many cases which has apparently led him to doubt the genuineness of the record. But, as pointed out above, there is absolutely no reason to doubt its genuineness on grounds of palaeography and language.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kadamba king Siṁhavarman who is described as the grandson of Kṛishṇavarman I, the performer of the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamēdha-yajña-yaśōmaya-pratikṛiteḥ*), and as the son of Vishṇuvarman who is called a *Sārvabhauma*. The record is dated in the fifth regnal ear of the king and the tenth day of the month of Pausha. And the **object** of the record is to register the gift, made by the king Siṁhavarman, of five *nivartanas* of land below the lake called Āsandi in Āsandyalūra situated in Sindaka-vishaya *i.e.*, Sēndraka-vishaya. This gift was made for the purpose of conducting worship in the Jaina temple (*Arhaṁtām=āyatana*), apparently at the place Āsandyalūra.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only record of the Kadamba king Siṁhavarman discovered so far. Till now, he was known only from the records of his son and successor Kṛishṇavarman II[1] and some scholars even doubted whether Siṁhavarman ascended the Kadamba throne at all. But the discovery of the present inscription shows that he not only ascended the throne but also ruled the kingdom for some years. He may be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. according to the chronological scheme of the rulers of the Kadamba dynasty.[2]

In line 7 of the text, Siṁhavarman has been described as belonging to, on his mother's side, a family the name of which reads as Rāmēya. His mother's name is mentioned as Gaṅgā who was like the universal river Gaṅgā, the mythological daughter born of Himavat mountain (cf. *Rāmēyavaṁśa-Himavat-prasūta-jagan-mātṛi-Gaṅgā-garbbha-hrad-ādhi-śay-ana-dig-Gajēndraḥ*). The name Rāmēya, in our opinion, is a mistake for *Kaikēya*, since we know that these Kadamba kings had cultivated matrimonial alliance with the rulers of the Kaikēya family who seem to have ruled as subordinate chiefs of the Kadambas in some parts of their territory. The Praṇavēśvara temple inscription[3] at Tāḷagunda in Shimoga District mentions the queen Prabhāvatī as the wife of the Kadamba king Mṛigēśavarman and mother

1 See his Bannahaḷḷi plates, above, Vol. XVI, pp. 18 ff; Śivaḷḷi plates, *C.P. Ins. from Karnataka* (ed. by M.S. Nagaraja Rao and K.V. Ramesh), pp. 6-7.

2 We have discussed in detail the chronology of the Kadamba dynasty in our forthcoming volume on the *Early Kadamba Inscriptions*, to be published by the Indian Council of Historical Research.

3 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911, p. 33.

of Ravivarman and as born in the Kaikēya family (*Kaikēya-maha-kula-prasuta*). According to the Bannahaḷḷi plates[1] of Kṛishṇavarman II, his grandfather Vishṇuvarman is described as the son of the daughter of the Kaikēya family (cf. *Kaikēya-sutāyām=utpannēna Vishṇuvarmma-dharmma-mahārājena*). And the second set[2] of Mūḍigere plates of Vishṇuvarman himself describes him as born of the daughter of a Kaikēya ruler (cf. *Kaikēya-rāja-bālikā-garbbha-saṁbhutaḥ*)n Thus, it is quite likely that Gaṅgā, the mother of Siṁha-varman of our record, also belonged to this Kaikēya family and that the expression *Rāmeya* is only a mistake for the word *Kaikēya*, a mistake committed by the writer or engraver of the record.

In line 13 of the record under study, it is stated that the king Siṁhavarman was anointed by one whose name actually reads in the text as *Mōsava* and who was again coronated on the throne by a ruler named *Sarvasena-maharaja*. The expression *Mōsava* is again a mistake for the word *Vāsava* i.e., the god Vishṇu, since we know that the kings are described as being first anointed by the gods in the inscriptions. Thus, according to the Tāḷagunda inscription[3] of Śantivarman, his ancestor, King Mayūravarman is described as being anointed by the god Shaḍānana *i.e.*, Kārtikēya (cf. *Shaḍānanah yam=abhishiktavān*).[4] Gopal, however, reads the word *Mōsava* as *Maisada* and doubtfully corrects it to *Maisava* which is interpreted by him as the family name of some chiefs. It is unlikely that such a small and insignificant family of chiefs will enjoy the prerogative of anointing an imperial king like Siṁhavarman and hence this view is unacceptable. That God Vāsava or Vishṇu anointed him stands to reason and hence, the correction of the word *Mōsava* as *Vāsava* suggested above is justified.

As regards the identity of Sarvasēna-mahārāja, at whose hands Siṁhavarman was coronated, Sundara has suggested that he may be identified with the Vakāṭaka king of that name *i.e.*, Sarvasena I who founded the Vatsagulma branch of that dynasty. But this Sarvasēna I is placed by scholars[5] in about the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D., whereas the Kadamba king Siṁhavarman belonged to the last quarter of the 5th century A.D., thus leaving a gap of over 200 years. Hence, Gopal observed that there would be chronological difficulties, in respect of this identification but he did not suggest any alternative.

Ajay Mitra Shastri has written a detailed paper on this subject entitled "Mūdigere plates of Siṁhavarman and Vākāṭaka-Kadamba Relations".[6] In this paper Shastri has suggested theidentification of Sarvasēna of the present record with Sarvasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty whose existence is confirmed by the discovery of Thalner plates[7] of the Vākāṭaka king Harishēṇa and, as a consequence, containing the name of the father of

1 Above, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

2 *Corp. Kad. Ins.*, No. 36, p. 133, text-line 3.

3 Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, verse 22.

5 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. XXIX.

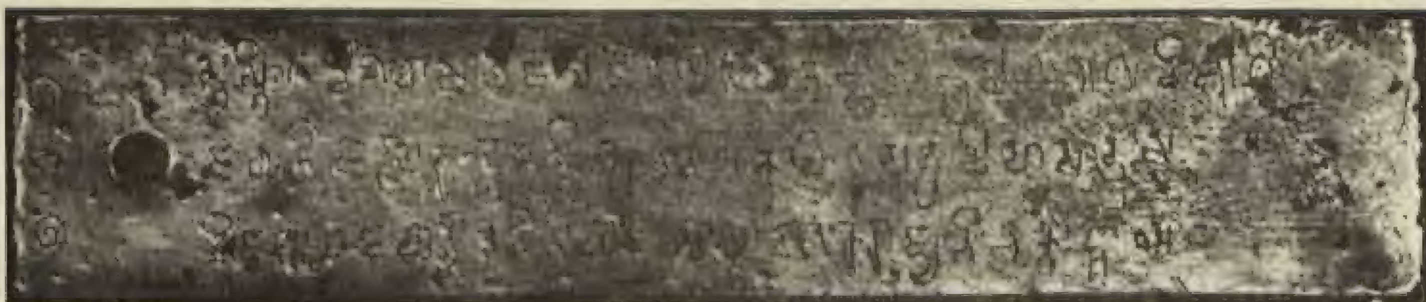
6 *Indian Archeological Heritage* (K.V. Soundarajan Felicitation Volume), pp. 317-19.

7 Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers*, Vol. I (1982), pp. 78-87 ; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *JESI*, Vol. XI (1984), pp. 15 ff.

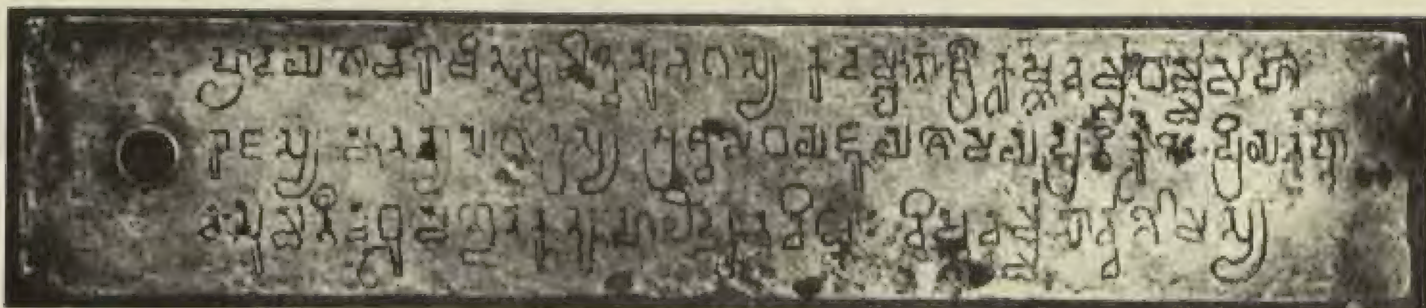
Vākāṭaka Devasēna in the Ajanta cave inscription[1] of Harishēṇa's minister Varāhadēva. Shastri supports his identification by arguing that the - *sēna* ending names were borne during this early period of 5th-6th century A.D. *only*[2] by the rulers of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and hence, it may be reasonably concluded that Sarvasēna of Mūḍigere plates must have been a monarch of this dynasty. Sarvasēna II is assigned to the period *circa* 410-50 A.D.,[3] while the Kadamba king Simhavarman has been referred to the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. To reconcile this difference, Shastri suggests that the Kadamba chronology may be antedated by a few decades to suit his identification and thereby to establish Kadamba-Vākāṭaka relationship. I am sorry that it is not possible to agree with Ajay Mitra Shastri in identifying Sarvasēna of our record with his namesake Sarvasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. There is no evidence to establish the Kadamba-Vākāṭaka relationship during this period. In the Bālāghāṭ plates[4] of the Vakāṭaka king Pṛithvishēṇa II, it is stated that his mother Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā, wife of Narendrasēna, was the daughter of the lord of Kuntala. Mirashi has shown that this lord of Kuntala belonged to the family of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānapura in the modern Sātārā region of Mahārāshṭra.[5] So this mention of the lord of Kuntala does not refer to the Kadamba king Kakusthavarman as once thought of by Dubreuil[6] and D.C. Sircar.[7] And there is no other evidence to establish the relationship between the early Kadamba kings and their contemporary Vākāṭaka rulers. On the other hand, as pointed out above, the Kadamba kings had entered into matrimonial relationship with the rulers of the Kaikēya family. According to the Honnāvar plates[8] of the time of the Kadamba king Ravivarman, his subordinate ruler Chitrasēna-Mahākella of the Kaikēya family issues the grant in his own regnal year, thereby showing that he enjoyed the status of a subordinate ally, possibly because of his relationship with the Kadamba king. For ought we know, king Ravivarman's mother Prabhāvatī may have belonged to the Kaikēya family and hence Chitrasena seems to have been his maternal uncle or so. It is important to note that the name of this Kaikeya ruler ends in -*sēna*, thereby disproving Shastri's statement that *only* the rulers of the Vākāṭaka dynasty had-*sēna* ending names during this early period. With our corrected reading of the text as Kaikēya instead of Rāmēya, Simhavarman may be taken to have been the son of Gaṅgā who belonged to this Kaikēya family. And, in all probability, Sarvasēna of the record also belonged to the same family and was possibly the brother of Gaṅgā and maternal uncle of Simhavarman. Perhaps, as maternal uncle and as an elderly member of the Kaikeya family, he took part in the coronation ceremony by anointing Simhavarman on the throne. In view of this, the identification of Sarvasēna of our inscription with his name-sake Sarvasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, leading to the establishment of the Kadamba-Vākāṭaka relationship, as propounded by Ajay Mitra Shastri, becomes untenable and hence unacceptable.

1 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 108, verse 10.
2 Italics ours.
3 *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. VI-VII and XXX.
4 *Ibid.*, No. 18, pp. 79 ff.
5 *Ibid.*, p. XXV.
6 *Anc. Hist. Dec.*, p. 100.
7 *Hist. Cult. Ind. Peo.*, Vol. III (*Classical Age*), p. 200.
8 Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 33.

i



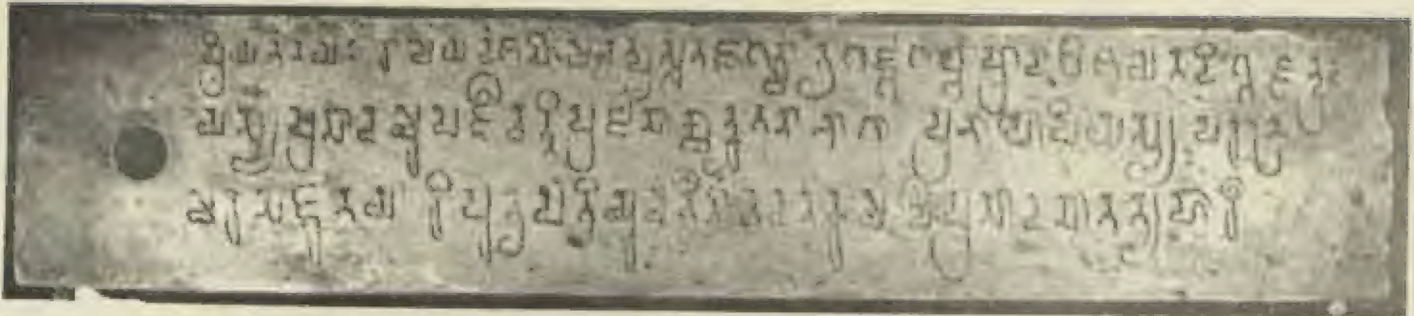
ii a



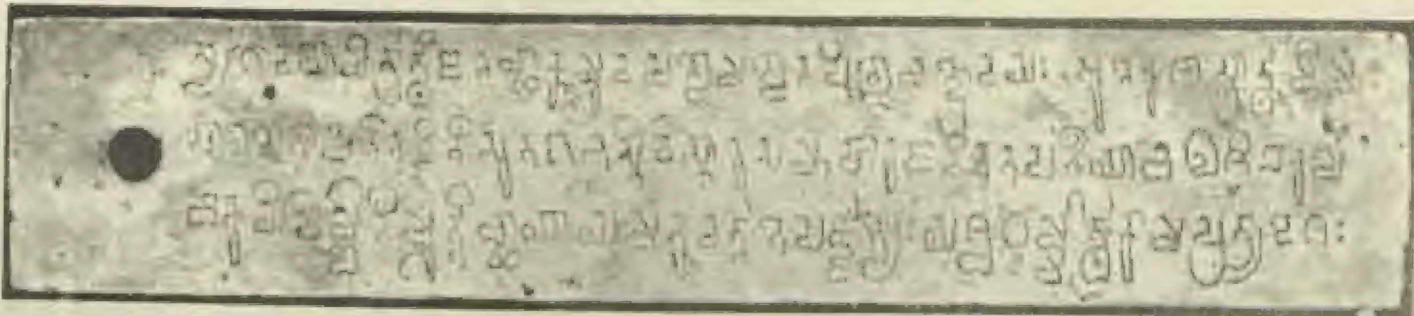
MŪDIGERE PLATES OF KADAMBA SIṀHAVARMAN, YEAR 5

PLATE II

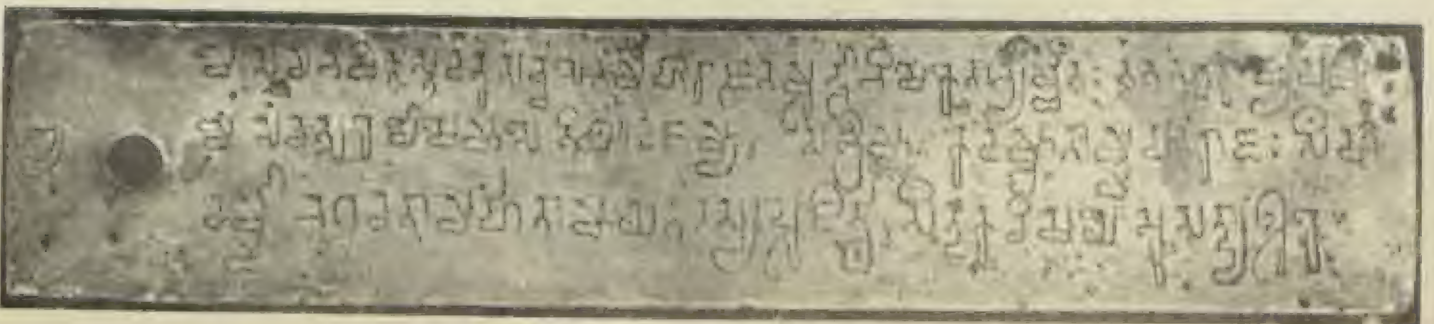
ii b



iii a



iii b



As regards the **geographical** names finding mention in the record, the lake called Āsandi and the village Āsandyālūra are to be located near the present village Mūḍigere, the findspot of the plates. Sēndraka-vishaya represented the area round about modern Shimoga District and parts of Chikkamagalur District.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1: *Ārya* ; verses 2 and 3 : *Anushṭubh*]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[2] Svasti ‖ vibav-āmala-jala-śītala-ni[ya][3] ta chchhāyā-pramōda-bhāga-vibhāgī [। *]

2 Jayati jay-aika-sthānan=tribhuvana-sakal-ātapatram=iha sad=dharmmaḥ ‖ [1‖*]

3 ,Ōṁ vijaya-Bē(Vai)jayantī-vanitāyāḥ s=āshṭā-daśaka-rājya-vibhakt-āṅgāyāḥ[4]

Second Plate : First Side

4 hṛidaya-gōchar-ōchita-svāmitva[5]-subhagasya Kadambānāṁ śrī-Kṛishṇavarmma-dharmma-mahā-

5 rājasya Mānavya-sagōtrasya Aśvamēdha-yajña-yaśōmaya-pratikṛitēḥ[6] priya-naptā

6 vasumatī-vadhū-maṇḍana-kutūhal-ōdbhūta-[7] Vishṇōḥ Vishṇuvarmma-Sārvva-bhaumasya

Second Plate : Second Side

7 priya-tanayaḥ Rāmēya-vaṁśa-himavat-prasūta-jagan-mātṛi-Gaṅgā[8]-garbbha-hrad-ādhiśayana-di-Gajēndraḥ

8 yasya prasādam=upajīvanti prajā sākshāt-kṛita- Nābhāga-pratāpō=pi yasya parākra-

1 From the impressions and photographs supplied by the Director of Epigraphy. My thanks are due to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam for his help in the preparation of this text.

2 Expressed by a symbol carved in the left margin of the plate.

3 Gopal reads *ni* [*śām* ?]

4 Gopal reads *vibharāṅga*[*rtthī* ?] *yāya*.

5 Gopal reads *svāmitva (naḥ va)*

6 Gopal reads *pratikṛitāḥ*.

7 Gopal reads *kutūhaḥ.-ta*.

8 Gopal reads *gaṁga(ṅga)*.

9 ma-rasajñatayā ripu-nṛipati-yuvatīnāṁ vadana-kamala-prasāda-sātatyahāri

Third Plate : First Side

10 tyāg-ōdayō-ārtthi-jan[ē]chchha-kumuda-shaṇḍa-maṇḍana-piṇḍa[1]-chandr-ōdayaḥ anēka-śāstr-ārtha-mīmāṁ-

11 sāvadāt-āma[la-ma*]tir=Aditi[2]-suta-gabhasti-vistāra-samāhāra-jaṭita-tapanīyāchala-śikhara-mē

12 chaka-vilambinī[3]-mūrtti-chchhāyā yam=anvarttatē parijjanyaḥ yaś=cha dharmm-ārttha-kāma-praty-ādēśaḥ

Third Plate : Second Side

13 Mō(Vā)sav-ā[4]bhishiktas=tad=anu Sarvvasēna-Mahārājēna mūrddhābhishekēn =ābhyarchchitaḥ tatas=sva-rājya-pañcha-

14 mē saṁvatsarē Paushē māsē tithau daśamyām sa-śrīmān Kadambānām=mahārājaḥ Siṁha-

15 varmmā bhagavatām=Arhaṁtāṁ-āyatanasya pūj-ārtthaṁ Sindaka[5]-vishayē Asandyalūrē

Fourth Plate

16 Asandi-taṭākasya dakshiṇa-pālyāḥ adhastāt rāja-mānēna pañcha-nivarttana-mātram kshetran=dattavān

17 sarvva-parihāryam-iti ॥ uktañ=cha Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ[।*] yasya

18 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ॥ [2 ॥ *] Sva-dattāṁ=para-dattāṁ vvā(vā) yō harēta vasu-

19 ndharaṁ [।*] shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu sa[ḥ ।. 3 ॥ *] iti ॥

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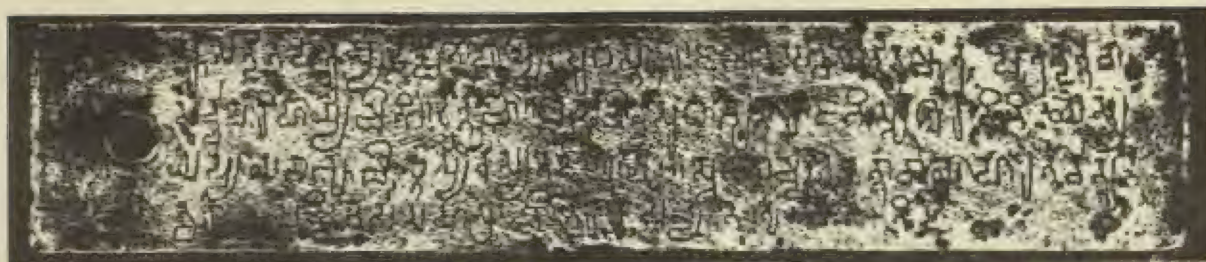
1 Gopal reads *maṇḍa-sapiṇḍa.*

2 Gopal reads *mīmāṁsādātā(ta ?)-matidaṛiti* which does not yield any meaning.

3 Gopal reads *śikharam-eva kavilambinī.*

4 Gopal reads *masadsa* (*masavā* ?).

5 Gopal reads *Sendraka.*



SEAL



INDEX

By S. SWAMINATHAN, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages, 'n' after a figure to foot-notes, and 'add' to additions and corrections. The following abbreviations are also used ; au. = author; ca. = capital; ch. = chief; chron. = chronicle; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; de. deity; di. = division; do. = ditto; dt.= District; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. epithet; f. = family; fe. = female ; feu. = feudatory; gen. = general ; gr. = grant, grants; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription, inscriptions. k. = king; lo.= locality; l.m. = linear measure, land measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office; peo. = people; pl. = plate, plates; pr. = prince, princes; prov. = province; q. = queen; reg. = region; rel. = religion, religions; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; Tel. = Telugu; t.d. = territorial division; tit. = title; tk. = taluk; tn. town; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. =work; wt. = weight.

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